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ATTITUDES OF COMMUNITY LEADERS AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC IN FOUR ONTARIO COMMUNITIES

FOREIGN OWNERSHIP:

CORPORATE BEHAVIOUR AND PUBLIC ATTITUDES

for the

SELECT COMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL NATIONALISM

of the

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO

by
KATES, PEAT, MARWICK & CO.
in Association with
CANADIAN FACTS CO. LTD.
OCTOBER, 1973

PUBLISHED BY

THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC

AND CULTURAL NATIONALISM

OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

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The views expressed in this report are those of the Kates, Peat, Marwick & Company Study Team, and are not necessarily those of the Select Committee.

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Printed by J. C. Thatcher, Queen's Printer for Ontario





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October 23, 1973

Mr. Russell D. Rowe, MPP
Chairman
Select Committee on Economic and
Cultural Nationalism
Room 104
Parliament Buildings
Queen's Park
Toronto, Ontario

Dear Mr. Rowe:

This report, Attitudes of Community Leaders and the General Public in Four Ontario Communities, is submitted to you as part of the overall study of Foreign Ownership: Corporate Behaviour and Public Attitudes which we are conducting on behalf of the Committee. This report is the first of two attitude surveys to be reported on by our firm, and undertaken in association with Canadian Facts Co. Ltd.

We would like to express our appreciation to the individual community leaders who were interviewed in our research effort, and to the staff of the Select Committee and Select Committee members who assisted in reviewing an earlier draft of the report.

In accordance with our terms of reference, this report describes the attitudes of people in four Ontario communities, relative to the various issues of foreign ownership and control. The communities are identified and referred to by code only, consistent with our overall attempt to ensure the confidentiality of individual and company respondents.

We have attempted to make the report as complete and objective as possible within the context of available time and resources, and we trust it will assist the Committee in its deliberations.

Yours truly

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ATTITUDES OF COMMUNITY LEADERS AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC IN FOUR COMMUNITIES

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A. Sample Questionnaire Administered to Four Communities

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I - INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

The Select Committee on Economic and Cultural Nationalism was appointed by the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario on December 17, 1971. The Select Committee is composed of 11 M.P.P.s from the three Provincial Parties under the chairmanship of Mr. Russel D. Rowe.

The Select Committee engaged Kates, Peat, Marwick & Co. to conduct a study of the perceived and actual behaviour of Canadian- and foreign-controlled companies in six specific industries in the province.

To obtain a better indication of peoples' attitudes on many issues related to foreign ownership, the Committee also engaged Kates, Peat, Marwick & Co., together with its sub-contractor, Canadian Facts Co. Ltd., to undertake two attitude surveys of selected people in Ontario.

One of the two surveys was of four Ontario communities, and was conducted at two levels:

- personal interviews with community leaders
- a door-to-door survey of the general public.

These industry studies are reported in separate volumes and comprise the following: advertising, architecture and engineering consulting, auto parts, electronics, mining, and forest-based industries.

This report contains the results of the survey. In this section, the methodology of the study is described. Then the findings of the community leader interviews and the general public survey are discussed in turn. The report concludes with a summary and comparison of both sets of findings.

METHODOLOGY

The general purpose of the survey was to determine:

- the extent of awareness of and concern for foreign ownership in the smaller urban centres of Ontario
- the perceived impact of foreign- and Canadianowned corporations on the community.

The use of both a relatively unstructured interview (with community leaders) and a structured questionnaire (administered to a random sample of community residents) provided both qualitative and quantifiable information on the subjects discussed. The personal interviews were used to probe opinions and detect more subtle attitudes toward foreign ownership, while the door-to-door survey produced data that more reliably reflected a cross-section of opinion within each community.

The two surveys were conducted within the same time period (during May/June 1973), but the community leader interviews began about two weeks before the general public survey. 2

^{2.} Labour union leaders in each of the four communities were interviewed in September/October, 1973 and their attitudes have been included in the reporting of the community leader results. With the exception of the proposed C.D.C. offer to Texasgulf shareholders, which we attempted to take into account in a general way in describing the attitudes, it is felt that there is no major distortion of the labour leaders views as a result of this time lag.

Selection of Communities

Four small urban centres in Ontario, labelled #N, #S, #E, and #W, were selected as the sites for both the interviews and the question-naire survey. It was intended that the selected communities would provide a range of attributes in terms of size, location, economic diversity, and prosperity which would allow some general inferences to be drawn concerning the possible interactions between these factors and opinions on foreign ownership issues. The criteria for their selection included the following:

- geographic location: at least one community (#N) was to be in Northern Ontario
- proximity to a large urban centre: at least one community (#E) was to be part of a large urban region (in this case, the Toront-Centred Region)
- industrial base: at least one community (#N and, to a degree, #S) was to have a single industry as its economic base; at least one other (#W) was to be highly diversified in terms of industry
- income and unemployment levels: the communities were to provide a range of income and unemployment levels, including at least one (#N) which experienced significant seasonal unemployment
- community size: the population of the selected communities was to range from 15,000 (#S) to 100,000 (#W) (1971 census)

The label identifies the relative location of each of the communities in Ontario, i.e. North, South, East, and West.

- foreign ownership: the degree of foreign ownership of manufacturing establishments was to vary among the four communities.

Selection of the four communities also was related to the six industries studied (advertising, architects and engineering consultants, electronics, auto parts, pulp and paper, and mining) in KPM&Co.'s overall project on foreign ownership. Thus, each community contains companies prominent in at least one of the six industries studied. The names of the four small urban centres that were chosen are not disclosed, so that the anonymity of the firms subjected to in-depth study in other parts of the project will not be jeopardized.

Community Leaders Survey

Personal, semi-structured interviews were conducted with community leaders; all interviews, with the exception of those with labour leader representatives, were conducted by the same person, a member of the professional staff of Kates, Peat, Marwick & Co., in May 1973.

The individuals interviewed were selected on the basis of their occupations and their exposure to various interests within the community, including:

- municipal government
- radio and/or television
- newspapers

- education
- major religious institutions
- fund-raising
- the Chamber of Commerce
- women's groups
- labour unions.

In most cases contacts with individuals were made by requesting the mayor's or the reeve's office to enlist the co-operation of the acknowledged community leaders. Care was taken to ensure that these individuals were selected without a particular bias, and the results of the interviews indicate that there was no party line espoused by the intervewee. The mayor or reeve and a council member also were interviewed.

The attitudes of opinion and civic leaders are not, of course, statistically representative of the whole community. These people are, however, familiar with the main social and political groups within the community. It was explained at the outset of each interview that while we did not expect spokesmanship, we hoped the issues could be discussed from the viewpoint of the interest group with which the interviewee was most strongly involved.

A total of 32 interviews was conducted. All but three were semi-structured; that is, the purpose of the interview was explained, followed by a discussion of eight specific issues related to foreign

ownership. Although the main issues were raised by the interviewer, the interviewees were encouraged to expand upon them; general comments also were encouraged, whether or not they related directly to the issues raised.

Three of the interviewees preferred to speak independently, without the interviewer's guidance. In some cases, they covered the interview topics in their discussions; all were encouraged to speak freely. Co-operation from those interviewed and from the mayors' offices was excellent. Interviews averaged just over an hour in length.

General Public Survey

Structured interviews were conducted on a door-to-door basis in each of the four communities selected, during May 1973. The question-naire design, sample selection, interviewing, coding, and tabulation were undertaken by Canadian Facts Co. Ltd. as a sub-contract of the over-all KPM&Co. study. The questionnaire is reproduced in Appendix A to this report.

The sample size set for each community was 100 completed interviews of the general public aged 18 years old and over. The sample was entirely random, with interviewers assigned to different blocks spread across each of the towns selected. Care was taken to ensure that the sample included a mix of respondents in terms of their age, marital status, and relative position in the household.

The questionnaire was deliberately structured to conceal its foreign ownership orientation for as long as possible. Thus, in asking for co-operation for the interview, the interviewer gave no hint about the purpose of the questionnaire.

The questions were designed to reduce possible bias. For example, in one set of questions, good corporate citizen statements were attributed equally to Canadian-owned and foreign-owned firms.

When the completed questionnaires were coded, open-ended questions were carefully checked to ensure that no relevant themes, ideas, or responses were omitted.



II - COMMUNITY LEADERS SURVEY

As mentioned earlier, an attempt was made to interview community leaders in several areas of interest in each community. This was not always possible, for various reasons:

- some communities did not have local groups of a specific category (for example, radio or television stations)
- conflicting schedules sometimes precluded meeting specific individuals in the time available
- some communities recommended substitutes for certain categories.

Exhibit 1 indicates those interviewed in each community.

At the beginning of each interview, it was clearly stated that the subject for discussion was foreign ownership. While the interview was relatively unstructured, an attempt was made to elicit responses to eight specific issues associated with foreign ownership. These issues, which are listed in Exhibit 2, were designed to explore general attitudes toward foreign ownership and the perceived impact of foreign- and Canadian-owned firms on the local community.

SUMMARY OF OPINIONS

Exhibit 3 summarizes numerically the responses of the individuals interviewed. The table shows only those categories in which responses fell; it does not give a comprehensive list of possible replies, since

EXHIBIT 1

COMMUNITY LEADERS INTERVIEWED

	COMMUNITY										
Identification by Interest Category	#N	#S	#E	#₩							
Mayor or Reeve	x	x	х	x ³							
Councillor or Alderman	x	x	x	x							
Radio/T.V. Personality	x	2	х	x							
Newspaper Editor/Publisher		x	x	x							
Representative of Fund-Raising	x ¹	x	x ³	x							
Representative of Women's Group	x ¹	_x 3									
Representative of Education	x	x ⁴	x ¹	x							
Representative of Religious		x	_x 1	x							
Institution		^	^	^							
Chamber of Commerce Executive	x	x	x ⁵	x							
Union Representative	х	х	х	x							
Total Interviews:	7	8	8	9							

Notes

- 1. One individual was involved in both areas.
- 2. Community #S does not have either a local radio or TV station.
- 3. Unstructured interview.
- 4. This individual was also on the Town Council.
- 5. Alderman, also involved in Chamber of Commerce.

EXHIBIT 2

ISSUES RAISED

Basic Issues	Elaboration of Issue
Awareness and concern about foreign ownership	Whether the residents of the community are overtly aware (or care) about foreign ownership. How the residents are affected by foreign ownership.
2. Pervasiveness of foreign ownership	Whether there is an overall "chain reaction" effect from foreign ownership; i.e. whether foreignowned companies tend to purchase supplies and services from other foreign-owned companies, or to be unionized by international unions.
3. Anti-foreign ownership vs. anti-Americanism	Whether U.S. ownership or foreign ownership per se is the more relevant issue.
4. Corporate citizenship	Whether the larger foreign-owned companies have contributed to the community. How beneficial their contribution has been - if possible, relative to that of Canadian-owned companies.
5. More foreign ownership	Whether more foreign ownership (either through expansion of existing companies or formation of new ones) is encouraged by the community.
6. Union with the United States	Whether foreign ownership will ultimately lead to formal union (economic and/or political) with the U.S.
7. Canadian take-overs of foreign-owned companies	Whether any currently foreign-dominated industries should or could be rendered more Canadian through take-overs of foreign-owned firms by Canadian interests
8. Government involvement	Whether the government should do anything about foreign ownership. If so,
	(a) what level of government should take action?
	(b) should government action be aimed at limiting foreign ownership or at ensuring improved corporate citizenship of foreign- and Canadianowned companies?

EXHIBIT 3

		#S 非 #W		5 4 5	3 2 1	1			0	2 - 2				2	3 - 1			4 5 6	t	1 2 -		7		4 2 -	4 1 2	- 1 2	
	COJ	₩.		1 9	1 1				0	7				3		!		1 0	7	3		2		4 0	7 -	1	
SUMMARY OF REPLIES			6. Union with the United States:	- feel will occur - feel won't occur	- ambivalent	44	/. Canadian take-overs of foreign- owned companies:	- by private enterprise:	0 14:0000 11:0000	generally possible generally not possible	*	- by nationalization:	 qualified support for nationalization 	- against all nationalization	- concept not desirable		8. Government involvement:	(a) - federal level only - federal & provincial	- federal and local	- all levels, jointly	(h) - rootricting foreign		- ensuring good corporate	citizenship	- thactive fore	- no comment	
UMMARY (#W		9	2 2	1 9		(η		← 1	^			0	1 9	-			6	1 1				2	П.	2
	NITY	#E		2	4	9		C	7		7 •				2	2	3			3	4 1				n	7	7
	COMMUNITY	S#		4	2 3			,			m 1	Ç			~	, ~	2			7					7	1	
		N#		7	7 -	. 52		,	-		2 .	4			~	, m	-			9	ı -	۱ -			2	4.	
			1. Awareness and concern about foreign ownership:	- people aware	- people not aware	- people not concerned	2. Pervasiveness of foreign ownership:	- "chain reaction" definitely	exists - Uchain reaction! does not	exist or exists only to	limited extent	- no comment	3. Anti-foreign ownership versus	anti-Americanism:	- anti-foreign ownership	- anti-Americanism	- no comment or not an issue	4. Corporate citizenship of		- generally good	- generally poor	- no comment		5. More foreign ownership:	- yes, unqualified	- yes, if no Canadian choice	- yes, other qualitied

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not all options were mentioned by the interviewees. For example, in discussions on issue 5, relating to the desirability of more foreign ownership in the community, the table omits reference to totally negative replies. The reason is that not one person interviewed felt that increased foreign ownership in his community would be undesirable, regardless of circumstances.

The response totals were based on one of two factors:

- either a direct statement by the interviewee of a specific opinion regarding the issue,
- or, where no direct statement was made, an interpretation, by the interviewer, of the interviewee's discussion of the issue; in most such cases, the interviewer checked his interpretation with the interviewee to ensure correct understanding.

Some interviewees made more than one comment on an issue - for example, several suggestions were offered concerning government action on foreign ownership (issue 8b). For this reason, and because we felt all comments should be tabulated equally, the total number of responses by community may be greater than the number of people interviewed in that community.

The table below shows the total number of responses for each community:

	#N	Total				
Actual Replies	66	72	62	72	272	
"No Comment"	6	15	12	13	46	
Total Replies	72	87	74	85	218	
% ''No Comment''	8%	17%	18%	15%	14.5%	

SUMMARY BY COMMUNITY

The most notable impression was that, through the interviews with opinion and civic leaders, a distinct atmosphere was conveyed in all four communities, regarding not only foreign ownership, but overall public feeling as well. The discussion below first attempts to summarize each community's general tone. Responses to the issues also are presented; in some cases, comments are quoted directly or paraphrased.

Community #N

The general attitude gleaned in community #N was really twofold: First, perhaps more than any of the other communities, #N owes
its continued existence almost exclusively to one foreign-owned company.
While those interviewed were quite frank about their community's dependence on foreign ownership, however, they did not feel threatened by
it.

Second, the feeling of civic pride was an undertone to most of the discussions. In summary, #N can be described as a relatively large community which is concerned about its lack of growth, desires growth, and does not fear the loss of its community atmosphere through this growth.

1. Awareness of and Concern about Foreign Ownership

All but two of those interviewed felt that the average resident of community #N was aware that the larger manufacturing companies were

foreign-owned; but most of those who commented on whether the residents cared about the ownership of a company replied negatively. This dual response was justified by combinations of the following factors:

- with only a small number of companies, people can be more knowledgeable about each one, yet feel the degree of foreign ownership is not excessive
- the community's economic base is mining; residents know that this industry has been primarily foreignowned in the area
- the existence of the (mining) companies is important; the ownership of these companies is almost irrelevant.

One interviewee who felt the public did not know which companies were foreign-owned could not expand on his answer. He felt, however, that ownership was not relevant to residents of the community as long as the company provided a good standard of living to its employees. The other interviewee who claimed that citizens were unaware compared this situation to a lack of knowledge of the differences between federal and provincial politics; both are issues that "people do not think about".

2. Pervasiveness of Foreign Ownership

The majority of the interviewees stated that they had no know-ledge of the issue and thus could not discuss it. This is perhaps because the largest foreign-owned company is not unionized, and unions were the most obvious example of the chain reaction of foreign ownership that the interviewees could think of.

Of the three interviewees who commented on the issue, two felt that foreign ownership does stimulate a chain reaction of foreign ownership. One of the two cited the general issue of unions, and the other cited an example whereby a foreign-owned company had called in a (non-local) foreign-owned company on a sub-contract. The third respondent referred to a particular equipment purchase decision, whereby a foreign-controlled firm switched from a U.K. to a Canadian supplier although the British product was of a superior quality.

3. Anti-Foreign Ownership versus Anti-Americanism

Opinions on this issue were almost evenly divided, although one interviewee would state only that "it's not an issue; people are people, no matter where they are from".

Those who claimed that the feeling was against foreign owner-ship generally gave quite different reasons for their opinions. These ranged from very emotional nationalistic statements - "we do not want anybody taking (part) in our country because we have the most beautiful country in the world" - to a slight fear that although we now have "the best of all possible worlds" because of foreign investment, we must maintain our Canadian identity and not "be swallowed up" by foreign interests.

One of those who stated that the feeling was predominantly anti-American insisted that we Canadians are not like Americans "just

because we speak a common language"; his implication was that Americans assume we are the same as they are and that Canadians resent this.

The other person who claimed the anti-foreign ownership issue reflected anti-Americanism felt that recent social problems and the Vietnam war issue had, in the past few years, heightened anti-Americanism. This person spoke primarily about youth, among whom, he felt, a Canadian identity is definitely emerging. Young residents of community #N want, as Canadians, "positions of control and to effect change" when they are older. They want the Federal Government to ensure these rights for them; they do not want to be like Americans or part of the American culture or economy.

4. Corporate Citizenship

As shown in Exhibit 3, six of the seven people who commented on this issue felt that the foreign-controlled companies were good corporate citizens, although some interviewees were less enthusiastic than others. The discussions centred on the American-owned mining companies, with emphasis on the largest three. The general feeling was that these firms had contributed "significantly in that they had provided continued life for (the community)". One interviewee was specifically complimentary about one company: "They are a wonderful company; we love them and are glad to have them in the community (because) they really saved (us)." Another person was less ecstatic, and said that although this company had good relations with its employees, neither Canadian- nor foreign-

controlled companies have ever really been good corporate citizens.

Examples were cited of the specific contributions of various firms to civic projects such as arenas, hospital services, parks, scholarships, fund drives, and rehabilitation programs. Some of those interviewed, however, expressed near-indignation with the most recent (foreignowned) mining company in the area. These people felt that the older firms (Canadian-owned) had "almost built the town", and although they did not pay as well, they had provided many amenities (such as housing, hospitals, and arenas). When the large foreign-owned company came to the area, the community had already been established; the company contributed to the town, but only on a relatively marginal basis compared to the basic needs met by the older companies in the past. Further, by paying much higher wages (which according to one interviewee, was a move designed to keep it non-unionized), the foreign-owned company caused some resentment among other miners. The feeling expressed was roughly that, while this foreign-owned mining company had "saved" the community an act that was necessary and appreciated - the price paid was pride and harmony.

5. More Foreign Ownership

Two of those interviewed were totally enthusiastic about more foreign ownership in community #N: they were "all for it" and would "go for it all the way". Most others re-phrased the question as an option. The consensus here was that if the choice were between foreign-

and Canadian-owned firms, Canadians firms would be preferred; but if there were no such choice, more foreign ownership would be welcomed.

The focal point of the discussions was always employment. With the qualification that no company, whatever its ownership, should displace employed residents, the more jobs it created, the more welcome a firm would be. This tremendous concern with employment is partly due to the fluctuating nature of mining, the slow rate of growth of employment in the community, and the desire for more growth.

There was one qualified response. This interviewee discussed the desirability of increased foreign ownership in three specific areas of investment:

- development of a new <u>ore</u> body here the community would welcome more foreign ownership
- <u>forestry</u> the community would accept more foreign ownership
- <u>land</u> the community would oppose more foreign ownership.

6. Union with the United States

Only one interviewee felt that American ownership in Canada was going to lead to formal union with the United States. This was explained on the local level as resulting from the continual need to turn more and more to the United States for economic survival. It was also explained on the global level as a possible future need to unite against communism.

The remaining people interviewed did not feel that American ownership was leading to union with the United States. While some agreed that "the fear (of union) will always be there", this was attributed to the continuing integration or interdependence of the economies of the two nations. This group felt that Canada's emerging identity as a "very special group of people" would be a strong enough deterrent to formal political or economic union with the States. If anything, national pride could counter the effects of American ownership; emotionally, Canadians feel no longer inferior to Americans but superior to them. And if necessary, realizing that foreign ownership of industries is not wholly detrimental, "we in Canada have enough natural resources and leaders to look after ourselves". Many responses, particularly emphasized by one person, was that neither economic nor political union with the United States would be desirable for Canada.

7. Canadian Take-overs of Foreign-Owned Companies

Without giving specific examples, three of those interviewed were generally in favour of equivalent Canadian-owned companies replacing foreign-controlled ones in foreign-dominated industries. These people felt that Canadians had the expertise but lacked the capital to do so. Two others interviewed, however, felt generally that Canadian take-overs were not possible because we lack the expertise (as well as the capital). In their opinion, foreign-controlled companies were just too big to be taken over.

Regarding the possibility of nationalization of foreign-controlled companies, three of the four who discussed this issue were against it and one thought this would be the only means of effecting Canadian take-overs. The consensus against nationalization stemmed from the belief that nationalized industries lack incentives to make a profit, and that the public suffers through higher taxation. The individual who said he would accept a government take-over thought that if this incentive problem could be resolved, it would be worthwhile. Furthermore, the feeling was that government should provide leadership and encouragement to Canadians to shed the tendency to be risk-avoiders in their investment practices, an attitude which makes the country dependent on foreign capital.

8. Government Involvement

The various discussions on this issue can probably be best summed up by one interviewee's comment that government should take an active role because "I suppose we just cannot let (foreign owners) have everything". The Federal Government, either alone or in consultation with provincial and/or municipal governments, was seen as the proper authority to be concerned with foreign ownership. The most frequent comment was that there should be restrictions on profits leaving Canada; the question was also raised about whether reinvestment of profits should be redirected to the region where it was earned rather than elsewhere in Canada. One interviewee emphasized the local as well as the national perspective by saying that it does not matter who runs the venture as

long as the local community and provincial and federal governments get an adequate share of the profits.

The various other degrees and types of government involvement mentioned were:

- partnership ventures with private enterprise (foreign- or Canadian-controlled)
- ensuring a majority Canadian interest on boards of directors and/or in equity shares
- "reviewing" the amount of foreign ownership coming into Canada, especially regarding natural resources
- encouraging Canadian investment, possibly through provincial financial assistance to Canadiancontrolled companies
- involvement of municipal governments (in a trilevel scheme) to ensure local hiring at all levels, including management
- a "supervisory" role (undefined).

Some additional comments were that the Federal Government should maintain a "general knowledge" of the foreign ownership situation, but should not have an active role in controlling its growth. Another comment was that each company should be "reviewed on its own merits".

Community #S

Community #S conveyed an impression of harmony, specifically as related to interaction with foreign-owned companies. Those interviewed were extremely complimentary about such interaction and mentioned many instances in which a particularly large foreign-owned company had

helped individual families in the community without seeking recognition.

The general feeling was that company contributions, large and small, were voluntary; no soliciting was necessary to evoke participation in community affairs, and participation was wholehearted. The tone seemed to be, and this perhaps because of the presence of one well appreciated foreign-owned company, that foreign-owned companies were apt to be as good corporate citizens as Canadian-owned ones, particularly in regard to concern over the community's welfare.

Awareness of and Concern about Foreign Ownership

Opinions in community #S were equally divided concerning the average resident's awareness of which companies are foreign-owned. Those who felt there was awareness mentioned the publicity - for example, in company employee manuals - regarding ownership that was generated by foreign-owned companies. Those who felt there was a lack of awareness felt "that this lack of knowledge could easily be corrected if people took the time to find out".

Only two persons interviewed believed that the average resident of community #S cared about the ownership of companies, whether or not there was knowledge of this ownership. Included in their comments was the feeling that the "U.S. owns too much - would be better off if it didn't".

Reasons cited for the general lack of concern included the following:

- "do not think they care; they are making a good living"
- people "do not stop to think about it"
- "do not think they care; work is work and that is what they are concerned with"
- people might care if they knew which companies were foreign-owned, but they do not know
- why should we be concerned if the foreign-owned companies are "very much Canadianized" or are "a lot better than our own"?

2. Pervasiveness of Foreign Ownership

Five of those interviewed felt that they did not have sufficient knowledge to respond to this issue, but the majority of them elaborated on it by conjecture. One individual was certain that the government would ensure that foreign-owned companies used Canadian supplies and services. The others were not so optimistic; their consensus was that foreign-owned (and Canadian-owned) companies use "what is best for them". One person holding this view felt that although the foreign-owned companies try to use local people, use of foreign suppliers still creates jobs, and jobs are the key factor.

The two respondents who believed that there was no chain reaction effect of foreign ownership in the community were quite emphatic. They stated that "this town is paper and I do not see (the chain reaction) in this area" and that "there is no evidence of (this pervasiveness) here", but neither interviewee would comment further.

One interviewee believed that the chain reaction effect of foreign ownership was a factor in the community. He felt, however, that the foreign-owned companies which purchase from foreign-owned companies do make an effort to use Canadian employees and Canadian-owned companies wherever possible.

3. Anti-Foreign Ownership versus Anti-Americanism

Of the three interviewees who felt that foreign ownership per se was the issue, one chose this viewpoint only because he believed there was no anti-American ownership feeling in community #S. Another individual perhaps best summarized the entire issue: "(The economics of) foreign ownership is (that is, should be) the issue; if anything, the theory of (that is, the sentiment associated with) foreign ownership is strictly emotional." The third person felt there was resentment against the largest foreign owner, which happened to be American. If the foreign ownership was other than American, contended this interviewee, the resentment would be worse.

Other interviewees felt that anti-American ownership was the issue. One agreed that anti-American emotionalism was strong, but felt it was easier to attach negative feelings to one country (the United States) than to find out the involvement of all foreign nations in Canada. One other comment of an interviewee who felt that anti-Americanism was the issue seems particularly telling, in view of the community's comfortable relationship with foreign (U.S.)-owned companies: "We do not want (the United States) to control us, since they now own us."

As shown in Exhibit 3, five of the nine responses to this issue were "no comment or not an issue". Some of these five felt that, if anything, the residents of community #S were pro-American, both regarding ownership (because of good relations with such companies) and regarding the United States as a country (because of the proximity to the border and the abundance of travel both ways). One interviewee, however, would make no comment on the issue because he felt one's opinion "depends on political party affiliations".

4. Corporate Citizenship

The consensus of the interviewees was that the foreign-owned companies in community #S had contributed and were continually contributing to the town. Adjectives such as "outstanding", "excellent", and "whole-hearted" were often used in discussing such contributions. One interviewee qualified his response by explaining that while one large foreign-owned company behaved well, another had undergone a bitter strike which had strained community relations.

It was explained that particular foreign-owned companies contributed in the following ways:

- financially: to fund drives, building programs, and the local university
- independently: to form teams and scholarships
- personally: to help private citizens with particular problems, such as the handicapped.

Such contributions thus took the form of dollars, man-hours, and supplies. Furthermore, many contributions (such as building a ramp at the home of an individual confined to a wheelchair) were unpublicized. One interviewee boasted that he "could not say what (one of the larger companies) had not done" for the town(!).

There was one ambivalent response. This person did not belittle or disclaim what had been done by foreign-owned companies, but he felt that more had to be done in the area of pollution control. He recognized, however, that some companies were doing more than others to repair this situation.

The only comment regarding the relative corporate citizenship of foreign- versus Canadian-owned companies was as follows: "Canadian firms are lagging behind foreign-owned (ones) although Canadian (firms) are smaller for the most part."

5. More Foreign Ownership

As shown in Exhibit 3, seven of those responding to this issue felt that more foreign ownership would be encouraged in community #S, with no restrictions. The following reasons were cited for this opinion:

- four people felt any company would be welcomed, regardless of ownership
- one person felt that more employment would encourage youth to remain in the town
- one person believed the existing foreign-owned companies were good corporate citizens

- another felt that foreign ownership was not a great issue in the municipality now.

Of the two interviewees who qualified their encouragement of more foreign ownership, one felt that only good corporate citizens should be allowed to locate in the community. The other said that in principle he did not agree with more foreign ownership of the economy, but that in an individual case he would not prevent a new foreign-owned company from moving into the community.

6. Union with the United States

None of the nine persons interviewed believed that foreign ownership would ultimately lead to union with the United States. Three people felt, however, that this feeling had existed in the past, and one stated that the "nationalism trend was the other way now". The consensus of those who did not feel union was imminent was summarized by one statement: "I do not feel the danger is there today." Furthermore, the claim was made that foreign (American) ownership was viewed solely in terms of providing employment, and not political pressure for union.

Some ambivalence was expressed by one interviewee, who stated that he "hoped (American ownership would not lead to union with the United States), but (Canadians) are getting tied up with the U.S.; (Americans) own too much of Canada". He suggested that buying back companies would make union less imminent.

7. Canadian Take-overs of ___Foreign-Owned Companies

Community #S was the only one where some of those interviewed felt that Canadian take-overs of foreign-owned companies were just not desirable. These people felt that the countries which had had the "foresight" to invest in and develop companies in Canada should be encouraged to remain. They felt further that Canadian take-overs were not desirable and could not succeed because of the limited size of the Canadian market and the higher prices which would result.

No one mentioned nationalization, but one person felt that if the government set objectives of Canadian ownership, then Canadian-owned companies could participate in buying back ownership.

Among those who felt that Canadian take-overs were desirable, some believed that they were not possible and cited lack of capital as the main deterrent. One interviewee who felt that Canadian expertise made take-overs possible worried about the necessary investment. Another, however, insisted that we have enough capital.

Natural resources were singled out as the one area for which Canadian control was deemed essential. On this point, even those against the general concept of Canadian take-overs agreed. None, however, could expound on the mechanism for achieving the desired Canadianization of resources.

8. Government Involvement

Many suggestions were made regarding the role of government in foreign ownership. Three persons referred to a requirement for good corporate citizenship in terms of contributing to the community and to Canada by hiring Canadians and by having Canadians on boards of directors.

One suggestion was made that government should have only a passive role and leave the control decisions up to businessmen. A possible mechanism would be to set up a board of businessmen in each province; these people, drawn from administrative backgrounds, would be non-partisan and would act in lieu of the federal and provincial governments by effecting controls on distribution, trade, and location of foreign-owned companies.

Another suggestion was that government should get involved in business and should own shares in companies to ensure good corporate behaviour (such as pollution control and husbandry of natural resources). Foreign ownership was one of the reasons given for this involvement. This respondent did not believe government should try to own companies but just influence policy through part-ownership.

Others felt that the role of government should be:

- to act as a watchdog, especially regarding natural resources
- to provide tax credits to Canadians to encourage "buying back Canada"

- to avoid paying high tariffs on items assembled abroad from Canadian-manufactured parts and raw materials
- to restrict foreign ownership of land, especially recreational land and, where land is already foreignowned, to control the use to which it is put.

Community #E

The general tone in community #E was that people were quite apathetic not only to the foreign ownership issue, but also to all non-personal issues. Many interviewees talked about the newness of the community as the reason behind this. Apparently, many young families still consider the community a "bedroom suburb" of Toronto and do not yet have a civic commitment to the area. Perhaps, too, because the residents are very much involved in personal matters (such as raising families and meeting mortgage payments), they do not concern themselves as much with community and political issues.

A possible exception to this overall feeling is that of the unionized workers employed in the community's manufacturing establishments. Among the active union people, foreign ownership does affect the labour force directly, since it appears to have some direct bearing on job security and other employment conditions.

1. Awareness of and Concern about Foreign Ownership

Only one person interviewed felt that people were aware of the ownership of the larger firms in the community; this person, together

with others interviewed, felt, however, that the residents did not care about the issue, unless perhaps it was put at a personal and thus an emotional level. This lack of awareness and concern is possibly due to the fact that many residents work in Toronto or elsewhere outside the community. The consensus was that people would be aware of a company's ownership only when either management or advertising of the company's product mentioned this fact; but even then a firm's ownership would be a passing bit of information, and not an issue for serious thought or debate.

Those who work in the community's larger industrial concerns are appreciably more aware and concerned than residents, according to a local labour leader. Their concern is perhaps the result of a perceived direct effect of foreign ownership or their job situations.

2. Pervasiveness of Foreign Ownership

Most of the interviewees did not feel very knowledgeable about this issue and offered some opinion based on conjecture. The majority suggested that foreign ownership was more pervasive than most people realized and cited the example of foreign-dominated unions as at least partial reflection of the chain reaction effect. One person felt sure that this effect was "fairly extensive"; another felt that it was one of the negative aspects of foreign ownership. The consensus was that international unions formed the most overt example of the chain reaction; the average person probably did not realize the extent to which service and

supply industries (such as trucking, printing, and the manufacture of components) were affiliated with the larger foreign-owned companies.

One interviewee, while not denying the possibility of a chain reaction effect from foreign ownership, felt that no one nation could be responsible for all the links. Another person corroborated this view, stating that the free market would obviate one nation's domination over the economy of another.

3. Anti-Foreign Ownership versus Anti-Americanism

No one interviewed felt that foreign ownership per se was an issue independent of anti-Americanism. One person did claim, however, that while businessmen would feel foreign ownership was the issue, the average person would feel emotional about American ownership. Another person, on the other hand, preferred not to distinguish between the two and said the prevailing sentiment was "pro-Canadian".

Two people felt that the residents of the community either did not think of foreign ownership at all, or did so only slightly, with an anti-American bias. The two others who felt strongly that people were anti-American regarding foreign ownership claimed this was both because of a lack of awareness of European ownership and because "the United States is sick". An example given of anti-American feelings with regard to foreign ownership was, again, that of unions. Here, the feeling was fear of the power that the American-based union had over the residents' well-being, in terms of strikes and shutdowns.

4. Corporate Citizenship

Three interviewees felt that the larger foreign-owned companies were indifferent corporate citizens. Some of the comments supporting this view were as follows:

- foreign-owned companies do not try to learn about prospective communities; they merely find land, install plants, and produce products
- American executives live outside the community and hold themselves apart from the community
- foreign-owned firms do not budget for community projects; when approached for help, they need head office approval and head offices do not react or are not interested
- other than providing employment, foreign-owned companies have had no positive effect on the community; at the same time, they have had little negative effect
- minor contributions have been made with a "begrudging" attitude.

Those who felt that foreign-owned companies were good corporate citizens cited examples of American-owned firms which supported sports teams, held open houses, contributed facilities for recreation, donated time and funds to fund-raising, and co-operated with residents when production nuisances (such as noise and heat) impinged on residential areas.

While some American-owned firms were thus considered to be involved in the community, British-owned firms were felt to lack community

involvement. Canadian-owned firms were well regarded on the subject of corporate citizenship, although one person questioned whether Canadian-owned firms were good corporate citizens in other countries.

Those who felt that foreign-owned firms were poor corporate citizens cited, again, the lack of involvement of Canadian-based American executives. Although some executives did contribute personally, they could not do so on a corporate basis. What it made more difficult was possibly the greater turnover of American executives, since one interviewee estimated that some 40 of 75 American executive positions had changed hands in the past two years.

5. More Foreign Ownership

The question of the industrial/residential property tax assessment ratio was very much a part of this discussion. Three interviewees felt that the community should actively encourage both expansion of existing firms and introduction of new industry, regardless of ownership. Along similar lines, another interviewee suggested that if the choice were between acceptance of increased foreign ownership with maintenance of current standards of living versus rejection of foreign industry with a reduced standard of living, residents of the community would choose the former.

The remaining people interviewed qualified their views on encouraging further foreign ownership as follows:

- preference would be given to Canadian ownership; if only foreign-owned firms showed interest in locating in community #E, however, these would be accepted
- Canadian firms would be encouraged more readily because of their historical good corporate citizenship; foreign-owned firms would be welcomed "for the good life" provided they were more than just financially involved in the community
- foreign-owned firms intending to locate in the community would have to fulfil two prerequisites: first, that they neither opposed similar Canadian industry nor represented a "first entry" in that market in Canada; and second, that they were "showcase" industries that is, that they did not have nuisance factors such as noise, heat, and excessive pollution
- we should present greater foreign ownership because of the power of multi-national corporations, the possibility of production being shifted out of the country, and the lack of sensitivity in labour negotiations.

6. Union with the United States

The issue of whether increasing foreign ownership would ultimately lead to union with the United States was addressed in several different ways, ranging from emphatic agreement to equally emphatic disagreement. One person felt that Canada was definitely headed toward integration with the United States and that total nationalization of industries in Canada was the only possible countermeasure. He presented this view on the basis that the United States was already the backbone of Canada's economy, with labour (via unions) and management already American-controlled. The other interviewee who felt that Canada was

headed toward union with the United States felt so "emphatically", but only in terms of a formal economic union (such as extension of auto-type pacts); he felt Canada would always maintain its political identity.

Those who felt union was not inevitable also supported their views strongly. One interviewee felt that union would not come because, even if we were forced to join the United States by the threat of withdrawal of American investments, total nationalization of our industries could "save" us; but this interviewee doubted that the latter action would be taken "by any political party other than the N.D.P.".

The three other interviewees who doubted Canadian union with the States did so because:

- emotionally Canadians would not allow this loss of freedom and independence
- as long as Canadians had "the upper hand" that is, as long as Americans were in Canada, not for political reasons, but to meet the Canadian demand for their product and "as long as (American-owned industry in Canada) is only to fill a need, then no reason for alliance (exists)"
- Canadian people would not go for it; only fraternal ties would be maintained.

Canadian Take-overs of Foreign-Owned Companies

Only two interviewees felt any likelihood of Canadian-owned companies taking over foreign-owned companies. Both people, however, pinpointed the lack of capital as the major obstacle to Canadian take-overs; it was felt that the resources of the parent companies of the

foreign-owned firms just could not be matched and were a deterrent to significant competition.

The remaining people interviewed dismissed the idea of Canadian take-overs by private companies, because they felt that there was a financial barrier or that Canadians lacked the necessary expertise. In addition, most were against nationalization of currently foreign-owned companies because "nationalization seems to conflict with and destroy free enterprise", because they "hate the thought of nationalization", or because nationalization represented "total government intervention". Balanced against these opinions, however, was one strong advocate of nationalization, although his feelings stemmed more from the idea that nationalization per se was a positive move in some cases, irrespective of the nationality of the owners of the company.

The only truly positive comment regarding the Canadian takeover issue dealt with industries dominated by a few large foreign-owned
firms. This comment was made by someone who did not feel that foreign
domination of certain industries (such as the automobile industry) was
negative or that such domination should be eliminated. He did feel,
however, that Canadians should develop in other industries (he gave the
example of small appliances), where the competition would not be as
fierce and where less capital would be required to produce equivalent
products.

8. Government Involvement

All those who commented on this issue agreed that the Federal Government should be involved in action on foreign ownership some felt it should have sole jurisdiction, while others defined roles for provincial and local governments as well. The common problem seemed to be in defining government involvement. The following suggestions were made for participation of the various levels of government:

Federal Level:

- "surveillance" over foreign ownership, which was believed to exist already
- handling enquiries about development of foreign ownership in the country as a whole - that is, acting as a national industrial development commissioner
- restricting the chain reaction of foreign ownership in both primary and secondary industry that is, ensuring that foreign-owned companies use services and equipment from Canadian-controlled firms
- more control over ownership of investment in natural resources
- concern over the effects of foreign ownership on the national economy
- enforcing totally Canadian hiring and other "good corporate citizenship practices"
- restricting export of capital to five per cent of net profit earned by each foreign-owned company
- stiff controls over foreign-owned multi-national companies.

• Provincial Level:

- enforcement, on a provincial scale, of federal guidelines
- ensuring at least 60 per cent Canadian participation on boards of directors.

• Local Level:

- evaluating federal guidelines enforced by senior governments
- creation of by-laws ensuring environmental control.

With the diversity of opinions regarding government intervention, it is difficult to summarize. With exceptions, however, the prevailing mood seemed to be expressed by the following comment: "We need (foreign owners); they want us; (if we impose) too many restrictions, we will not get them."

Community #W

Community #W, the largest of the group, presented a view quite different from the others. This community is very much concerned about itself and not about the rest of the province or the country as a whole. Perhaps this "parochialism" is due in part to the fact that many family-owned businesses have been developed in this community.

Community #W, which is still growing substantially, is also concerned that it is losing its intimacy or small town flavour; it does not want to grow much more, nor does it want to lose its unique identity. Preoccupation with these local issues is high.

1. Awareness of and Concern about Foreign Ownership

Six of those interviewed felt that residents of the community knew the ownership of the city's larger companies. Only one person could elaborate, and he felt that the emphasis on industry was responsible for this knowledge. As seen in Exhibit 4, however, six people interviewed felt that ownership was not an everyday concern. This lack of concern was not interpreted as negative. Several comments explaining this "positive apathy" follow:

- people do not care because they are "happy" with the foreign-owned companies
- people are not concerned because the foreign-owned companies "are good corporate citizens, which is all people care about"
- "people are happy when they get lower prices, which negates the political question"
- the only people who are concerned are labour leaders who have to communicate with senior people in foreign-owned companies.

Of the two interviewees who felt people were concerned about foreign ownership, one could not elaborate; the other felt, however, that the existence of large ethnic groups in the community fostered a strong sense of Canadianism which carried over to general nationalistic feelings.

2. Pervasiveness of Foreign Ownership

All those who felt that the chain reaction effect existed in

the community were able to expand on their views. As elsewhere, unions were cited as a prime example of this effect. Moreover, two interviewees felt that the chain reaction effect existed because the authority of the foreign-owned companies actually lay with head offices, and these head offices made purchasing decisions on a company-wide basis. It was felt, however, that foreign-owned companies "attempt to use local industry" when not stymied by head office.

Interestingly, the opinion was expressed that pervasiveness of foreign ownership was less of an issue than was the use of local versus non-local firms, regardless of ownership. One of the interviewees who felt the chain reaction did exist stressed emotionally that the whole issue was "something to be studied very carefully".

Of those who claimed inadequate knowledge to judge the issue, one interviewee stated that "control buys loyalty", explaining that until Canadians have more control, they cannot affect offshoots of foreign ownership only as the chain reaction.

3. Anti-Foreign Ownership versus Anti-Americanism

As shown in Exhibit 3, six of the eight people who commented on the issue believed that anti-Americanism was more an issue than general ownership. They cited the following reasons:

- American ownership in the energy and resource areas is a very sensitive issue.
- the media have "an anti-American bias"

- any one issue, in this case the Watergate crisis, causes anti-Americanism
- "foreign ownership is equated to American ownership", as other non-Canadian ownership is insignificant
- community #W is highly "conservative" and does not like intrusion by the United States
- "Americans tend to stand out, while Europeans and British are assimilated".

The one individual who felt that foreign ownership per se was the issue felt so positively. He believed Canadians had "international obligations" to all countries, not just the United States. Another person interviewed felt that only the "odd group is anti-American".

4. Corporate Citizenship

All but one of those interviewed in community #W were unanimous in the opinion that the larger companies exhibited good corporate citizenship. The lone dissenter felt that the larger companies could get away with more. Where discussions were held regarding the relative corporate citizenship of Canadian- versus foreign-owned companies, only one person mentioned that there was a difference between the two groups. He said that when there are problems about branch offices of companies, it "is easier to call the Mayor of Toronto than Chicago".

Two of those interviewed felt that, while the actions of the larger companies were those of good corporate citizens, the underlying rationale was good public relations. Nonetheless, all were convinced

of the sincerity of the companies, who gave freely of executive hours, particularly for cultural events and fund-raising activities.

Finally, while still believing that foreign- and Canadian-owned companies were equally strong corporate citizens, three individuals interviewed emphasized that there are differences in behaviour in work methods and ability to innovate. One of these interviewees also suggested that evaluation of corporate citizenship would depend on whether or not the employee was paid more by a foreign-owned company relative to the wages offered by an equivalent Canadian-owned firm. Another simply responded that in some cases local union negotiators resented the need to consult the foreign head office.

5. More Foreign Ownership

Only two interviewees stated that more foreign ownership in community #W would be welcomed wholeheartedly. These people felt that employment, not ownership, was the issue, and that "at other than the emotional level, (residents of community #W) want foreign-owned companies and foreign financing".

Those five interviewees who qualified their feeling that more foreign ownership would be welcomed gave very different reasons. As shown in Exhibit 3, one person felt that foreign-owned companies would be encouraged only when there was no choice for a Canadian company.

Two others felt that proof of good corporate citizenship should be a prerequisite for the establishment of foreign-owned companies in the future.

Another interviewee felt that the residents did not want more companies (Canadian or foreign) until the community had grown enough to cope with the increased demands for housing and other services which would be generated by the new companies. Moreover, he was not sure when, if ever, more growth would be wanted by the community. Another interviewee stated in reference to community feeling that "encouraged" (that is, encouraging more foreign ownership) was not the correct sentiment; the more appropriate word was "accepted". Finally, one person felt that people were disturbed that Canadian-owned companies are bought out by foreign-owned firms.

6. Union with the United States

No one interviewed believed that foreign ownership would ultimately lead to union with the United States, although one person qualified this by saying it would be a "last resort" for Canada. Three others also qualified their beliefs. They felt that only economic union would occur and that this would extend to "all the Americas"; or that the fear of political union might still exist, but that it was not vocally expressed; or that those who were pessimistic (estimated at "less than 10 per cent") and unwilling to work out their own country's problems would believe that union was inevitable.

The remaining four people who commented on the issue felt that union with the United States would not occur. This group felt that even

foreign-owned companies were attempting to promote Canadianism (for example, by "enumerating" American executives - that is, by identifying and putting some kind of spotlight on them) and that, in addition, the Canadian image was now too strong to allow union to occur.

One individual who felt that union would not occur did so for unique reasons. He believed that Canada was a developing nation and therefore should not emulate developed nations. Thus, he felt that Canada's status was not threatened by foreign ownership and that the latter could not lead to union. Again, all interviewees took it for granted that union, political and/or economic, would be undesirable for Canada.

Canadian Take-overs of Foreign-Owned Companies

Opinions on this issue, including some general comments on the subject, again centred on the lack of capital. Canadians were considered to require three assets in order to effect any take-overs: "capital, courage and convictions". The possibility of take-overs in the natural resources sector was raised by several persons.

The two interviewees who felt that Canadian take-overs were generally possible gave conflicting support to their beliefs. One person felt that if the government provided tax concessions to Canadians, all industry could be taken over. While the other interviewee agreed that such take-overs were possible, he felt that they would increase

prices because Canada lacks the necessary scope and market, and that we would in essence be "reinventing the wheel".

The one individual who was against Canadian take-overs referred again (as in the previous issue) to his theory of Canada as a developing nation. He felt that take-overs would be unwise until "nationalism and faith in Canada" were stronger. He recognized, however, "the loophole that (Canadians) need some control (now) so that we have something to use to buy back foreign-owned companies in the future".

8. Government Involvement

Discussions of this issue were extremely varied. The suggestions for government involvement included: restriction of new foreign ownership, buying back Canada (over the long term), "creating a new philosophy", maintaining the standard of living, and having a laissezfaire attitude because "what can (government) impose on foreign-owned companies that shouldn't (also) be imposed on Canadian firms?".

One interviewee, again stating his belief that Canada is a developing nation, believed that the government should be encouraging development of related industry, particularly processing minerals.

He further felt that even if foreign capital were needed for such new development, it could be controlled from the start, rather than attempting to undo current "liberal" policies regarding foreign ownership of large manufacturing companies.

Finally, another individual interviewed felt that the whole issue of foreign ownership was too complicated to cope with. He believed that there is a "vast difference between what (Canadians) want (government) to do, and what (government) can do". He stated further that any government which imposed restrictions on foreign ownership would soon "find itself out of office". The extension of this argument, that industry itself should impose controls, was concurred with by two other interviewees, who felt that industry and labour unions should be much more involved in the total issue of controls and less selfish about their own company or union.

INTER-COMMUNITY OVERVIEW

Comparison of Interviewees

As shown earlier in Exhibit 1, those interviewed represented one (or more) groups in each community. There were actually only six categories for which someone was interviewed in each community:

- mayors or reeves
- councillors or aldermen
- representatives of fund-raising
- representatives of education
- Chamber of Commerce officers
- labour union representatives.

Because some of these interviews were unstructured, and because some people interviewed were less articulate than others, only the comments of councillors or aldermen, education representatives, and Chamber of Commerce officers can be fully compared across all four communities.

Councillors or aldermen

The individuals in this group, as a whole, were probably the most well-informed and provided the most explicit discussions. As elected officials, they gave a fair amount of background discussion to each issue, as well as to the history and flavour of the community. This group, understandably, went into greater length in discussing government involvement in foreign ownership; only two of the four, however, saw a role for local government in this area. In general, the view of these men was balanced. They realized both the necessity for and the benefits of foreign ownership (most strongly in community #N), but they also recognized its negative aspects. In the interviewer's opinion, these interviewees seemed thankful that the residents of their communities did not recognize the depth of the whole issue; perhaps, according to the interviewees, if the residents were more knowledgeable, they would be unduly worried about the situation(!).

Representatives of Education

The representatives of education included a principal of a separate junior high school, a director of education for a community-wide board of education, and two ministers, one of whom was a chairman

of a regional board of education and one whose church had schools associated with it. These interviewees tried to discuss the issues from the viewpoint of their experiences with youth. Because of this exposure, the subject of an "emerging Canadian identity" was recurrent, except from one interviewee who, when discussing youth's attitudes to foreign ownership, said "do you think (youth) thinks?".

Regarding foreign ownership specifically, these individuals felt that it was necessary in order to create jobs and keep youth in the communities. They also felt, however, that youth was going to expect more control and stronger stands from future governments; in essence, the feeling was that Canadian youth, to be Canadian, wants more of Canada also to be Canadian.

Chamber of Commerce Officers

Those interviewed as representatives of the communities' Chamber of Commerce held rather diverse views, except for agreeing that the foreign-owned companies in their communities were willing members of the Chamber of Commerce. Like the alderman/councillor group, this group had a considerable amount of detailed information regarding foreign ownership. This applied particularly to the two managers interviewed; as full-time Chamber of Commerce employees, to some extent they were exposed in their jobs to foreign ownership issues.

These interviewees had the most detailed knowledge about good and bad corporate citizenship. They also mentioned other aspects of

foreign ownership, such as tourism and the chain reaction effect, as important issues. They referred, individually, to the role of the businessman in controlling foreign ownership, to specific trade regulations, and to profit margins. The two interviewees in this group who mentioned nationalization were vehemently opposed to it in any form. Generally, as would be expected of Chamber of Commerce representatives, they encouraged any measures relating to industrial growth and job-creation, with few exceptions or restrictions, except where environmental pollution, labour unions, or anti-Canadian competition would be a major factor.

The Labour Union Leaders

The labour union leaders in the four urban centres appeared to be more nationalistic than other community leaders. They were on the whole opposed to foreign ownership, although the degree of their sentiment ranged from moderate to strong.

The labour union leaders (with one exception) were definite in their feeling that people were aware and concerned about foreign ownership, and that government should be doing something about it. There was some expressed sentiment for nationalization, although the main feeling was that companies should be managed by the private sector. In general government should have a strong voice in policy direction and overall control over management, but not interfere in day-to-day operations. Since the labour leaders were interviewed following the announced move by the Canada Development Corporation vis-a-vis Texasgulf, labour leaders

tended to refer to this example in support of government intervention at the policy level through part-ownership.

Although the labour people were themselves quite concerned about the actions of foreign-owned companies they still felt that the rank and file of the labour movement was relatively unconcerned about working for a foreign-controlled firm. As long as the company was a good employer, that's what really counted. They also believed that although there should be a reduction in the amount of foreign ownership in our economy, steps to reduce foreign control should be taken without disrupting the livelihood of the working man. Nevertheless, the labour union leaders interviewed professed confidence in Canada's capacity to reduce foreign ownership without great economic disruption.

On the whole, union leaders maintained that Canadian-controlled companies were both good and bad corporate citizens as much as foreign-controlled companies. However, the main concern of labour leaders was the behaviour of foreign-controlled firms in labour relations. The rushing in of company labour relations experts from the United States at crucial points in bargaining, the occasional threat by the manager of a foreign-controlled firm that a plant-closing would have little effect on the whole company, the lack of authority given by the head office of a company to its Canadian labour representatives, take-overs of long established local firms, and insensitive statements by international labour leaders contributed to an impression of resentment against foreign

ownership in general. Most of the undesirable practices attributed to foreign-owned companies were felt to be more sporadic than widespread, but the cumulative effect seemed to leave a substantial overall nationalistic feeling by labour leaders interviewed.

Overall Impressions

Perhaps the most significant impression revealed by the interviews with community leaders was the dual level of concern regarding foreign ownership. On the surface, with the exception of labour leaders, people are almost apathetic. They do not think of foreign ownership (or even of their Canadianism) on an everyday basis, and the issue seems not to be one of common or constant concern. Thus, for example, many of those interviewed stated at the outset of the interview or in response to particular issues raised, that they had "never really thought about it before". These interviewees felt that the people with whom they interacted also did not think about foreign ownership; several mentioned that the subject rarely came up in casual or social conversations.

The second aspect of concern was definitely not apathetic. It was emotional, and often intensely so. Thus, it was found that although an interviewee might say he did not think much about foreign ownership in general or about a particular related issue, during more detailed discussion the reaction to foreign ownership would often be one of strong concern, particularly about the longer-term implications regarding Canada's autonomy and identity.

In the opinion of the interviewer, many interviewees were half-embarrassed and half-bewildered at both their lack of knowledge of more than the surface issues and at their inability to discuss the issues in concrete terms. Thus, statements such as "the government should do something" or "I am sure more attention should be paid..." were frequently made without qualification or explanation.

The dual concern we have referred to was borne out by the discussions of issues #2, #6, #7, and #8 in particular. These issues are relatively more global and thus less personal. While the issues on awareness, anti-Americanism, corporate citizenship, and expansion of foreign ownership could readily be discussed on a personal level, the remaining issues called for more detailed and substantial knowledge.

For example, one could not really discuss Canadian take-overs without knowing what exists to be taken over. Generalities were therefore more common in responses to non-personal issues.

The exceptions to initial apathy and lack of knowledge were from interviewees with unique approaches to Canada and its fate. These people, who held theories on Canada as a developing country or as a citizen of the world, discussed all issues within their own terms of reference.

Recurrent Themes

The combination of a lack of previous thought and subsequent concern upon reflection was a recurrent theme during many of the inter-

views. Points which were brought up repeatedly included the following:

- Canadians as risk-avoiders
- control over our natural resources
- the emerging Canadian identity.

The most common comment, brought up in almost every issue, related to Canadians as investors. It was expressed repeatedly that Canadians were "risk-avoiders", that they were "conservative investors", and that, even if sufficient Canadian capital existed, it would not be invested in industry without guarantees on the return. Many people thus seemed disillusioned with Canadians' interest in their country's future. Those interviewed further extended this reasoning to explain why Canada's past, present, and future could never be wholly Canadian.

Two other issues were frequently raised. The first related to natural resources, a subject that was discussed with particular emotion.

Natural resources was the one area which those interviewed commonly felt should be wholly Canadian-owned. For example, the "energy crisis" was mentioned as a bargaining point for Canadians; that is, if natural resources were Canadian-owned, their availability to foreign markets could act as a stimulus for more equitable economic arrangements in other areas. The most annoyance over foreign ownership of natural resources, however, was expressed with reference to recreational land. Those interviewed felt very strongly that foreign (in this case, predominantly American) ownership of cottage and lakefront land should be prohibited or restricted.

Lastly, the majority of those interviewed were cautiously optimistic about the growing Canadian identity. Those involved with youth in particular felt the emergence (and the importance of the emergence) of a Canadian "way"; some interviewees felt the government should somehow foster this national pride. Nonetheless, this new identity was often described in a "best of all possible worlds" context. Thus, parts of the emerging Canadianism were perceived as being borrowed from other lands and other cultures; but, taken as a whole, the pattern was unique.

III - GENERAL PUBLIC SURVEY

In addition to the interviews conducted with community leaders, a structured random sample survey of the general public was carried out in the four communities. The issues addressed, the characteristics of the sample, and the survey results are discussed below.

ISSUES

The sample was surveyed by the use of a questionnaire (see Appendix A) which was administered through personal interviews. The questionnaire covered four issues:

- How important is to the respondents the question of foreign ownership of industry, when viewed in relation to Canada and the national economy?
- 2. How important is the foreign ownership issue when viewed in relation to the respondents' own communities and their local economies?
- 3. How important is foreign ownership when respondents put it into a personal context - that is, when they view it in terms of its impact on their jobs, companies, and employers?
- 4. What are the respondents' views on the government's past record on the ownership issue, on future action, and on the value of a screening agency?

These issues were not raised sequentially during the interview; rather, the questions were mixed in an attempt to achieve a valid and unbiased response. Also, the initial questions made no specific reference to foreign ownership. For each issue, the interviewer first asked a

general, non-directive question to establish relative awareness and concern over foreign ownership, then continued with more specific, directive probes into the issue in question.

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

Exhibit 4, page 59, presents a broad profile of each of the four small urban centres selected for the survey. More detailed information on respondents to the questionnaire is given in Exhibits 5, 6, and 7, pages 60, 61, and 62.

There are several items of interest in these tables. First, about one-third of the respondents in community #W have some post-secondary education, in contrast to less than 10 per cent of the respondents in community #S (Exhibit 5). Second, only 40 per cent of the respondents in community #S earn more than \$10,500 annually, as compared with almost 70 per cent in community #E (Exhibit 5). For community #W, respondents' incomes are split almost equally above and below the \$10,500 level. These variations among the four communities may be related in part to both the education factor and the degree of industrial diversification within the community (Exhibit 4). Third, in community #S, there is a predominance of blue collar workers among the respondents (Exhibit 6) - another factor that can be related in part to income. Community #N has a relatively higher degree of unemployment than the other three centres (Exhibits 4 and 6).

EXHIBIT 4 COMMUNITY PROFILES

			MMUNITY	
	#N	#S	#E	#W
Approximate Population, 1971	30,000	15,000	20,000	100,000
Employment Index, 1971 ^{a,b}	77.2	115.3 ^e	291.6 ^f	155.6 ^e
Average Income, 1971 ^a	\$5,545	\$5,488 ^e	\$6,140 ^f	\$5,140 ^f
% Home Ownership, 1966 ^a	55.1	77.1	67.1 ^f	63.6
Population Growth Rate, 1966-1971	-3.5%	+21%	+100%	+21%
Dominant Manufacturing Industry	Mining	Finished paper, automotive parts	Heating & Air- conditioning equipment, tele- communications, glass bottles, auto parts	Diversified manu- facturing
Percentage of Total Manufacturing Employment in Dominant Manu- facturing Industry	80-85%	80-85%	45-50%	Not applicable
Number of Manufacturing Establishments ^C	25	15	75	250
Percentage of Manufacturing Establishments which are Foreign-owned ^d	35-40%	30-35%	55-60%	15-20%
Percentage of Manufacturing Employees Working for Foreign-owned Manufacturing Establishments ^C	80-85%	70-75%	45-50%	40-45%

Notes: a. Source: "The Financial Post Survey of Markets 1972"

b. Rate of growth of employment (as opposed to labour force); 1961 base year = 100; figure for Canada 1971 = 127.8

c. Source: Industrial Survey 1972, Ministry of Industry and Tourism
d. Source: "Ontario Subsidiaries of Foreign Manufacturing Companies",
Ministry of Industry and Tourism, 1972

e. Figures for metropolitan or regional area of which the community is a part f. Figures for the subject community plus an adjacent community in same region.

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EXHIBIT 5

SEX, AGE, INCOME AND EDUCATION OF RESPONDENTS (PERCENT)

_							
EDUCATION	Post-	occondat y	20	7	24	32	20.75
EDUC	Primary & Secondary		80	93	76	89	79.25
ANNUAL GROSS INCOME	\$10,500 & Over		41	40	69	47	49.25
ANNUAL GRO	Under \$10,500		54	59	31	48	48.0
AGE	40 Yrs. & Over	1	43	94	54	52	48.75
A	39 Yrs. & Under		57	54	97	48	51.25
SEX	Female		50	51	50	67	50.0
S	Male		50	67	20	51	50.0
	Community		N#	S#	#E	₩	Percentage Break- down of Sample:

1. Some respondents did not give income information.

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EXHIBIT 6

OCCUPATION OF RESPONDENTS

		_					
	TTTT	Unemployed	12	2	3	4	5
	Retired/	rens loned	7	00	2	2	5
		Student	8	ı	ı	9	2
(PERCENT)	Homemaker	Onty	34	37	30	33	34
	Skilled and	UNSKILLED	23	42	34	30	32
	Professional, Executive/Owner,	Sales, Clerical	25	12	28	25	22
	Ę.	LOWII	N#	#S	#E	#FW	Average:

Included in the first two columns are 54 homemakers: 16 working part time (3.9%) and 38 full time (9.5%). Note:

OCCUPATION OF PRINCIPAL WAGE-EARNER

Unemployed	2	5.
Retired/ Pensioned	14 1 -	5
Student	6 5 6	7
Homemaker Only	5 - 2	3
Skilled and Unskilled	44 71 56 42	53
Professional, Executive/Owner, Sales, Clerical	31 11 39 41	31
Town	が 非 非 が が	Average:

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EXHIBIT 7

EMPLOYMENT OF RESPONDENTS IN CANADIAN- AND FOREIGN-OWNED COMPANIES (PERCENT)

Answers	Average	#N	#S	#E	#₩
Total Interviews	100	100	100	100	100
- respondent not employed - respondent employed	45 55	51 49	49 51	37 63	44 56
Total Employed	100	100	100	100	100
- works for Canadian-owned company - works for foreign-owned company - not known	64 32 4	79 20 1	46 46 8	58 42 *	73 22 5

EMPLOYMENT OF RESPONDENTS' SPOUSES IN CANADIAN- AND FOREIGN-OWNED COMPANIES

Answers	Average	#N	#S	#E	##W
Total Interviews	100	100	100	100	100
- not married - spouse not employed - spouse employed	15 33 52	19 36 45	15 40 45	7 19 74	19 37 44
Total Employed	100	100	100	100	100
- works for Canadian-owned company - works for foreign-owned company - not known	63 25 12	67 20 13	47 30 23	64 35 1	75 15 10

Exhibit 7, shows the breakdown of the respondent's employment by foreign- and Canadian-owned companies. In communities #N and #W, a significantly greater number of respondents are employed by Canadian-owned firms than in #E and #S. Ideally, we should be able to correlate these data with the information in Exhibit 4 concerning the proportion of foreign-owned manufacturing establishments in each of the four communities. Data are not available, however, on the proportion of the respondents who were employed by manufacturing enterprises as opposed to all types of employers. Thus, at best we can note that the sample data reflect very generally the employment/ownership pattern presented in Exhibit 4.

SURVEY RESULTS

Interpretation of the Results

The differences in the characteristics of the sample among the four small urban centres should be considered in comparing the survey results. In addition, sample sizes should be checked before drawing conclusions from the results. They are taken into account in this report, and to assist the reader in his own analysis, a table of sample sizes appropriate to this survey is shown in Exhibit 8. For each sample size and response percentage, the possible variance with the actual population is indicated within 95 per cent confidence limits.

As the table shows, possible variances for sample sizes of 100 or less are considerable. To some extent, this may explain why Town #S, for example, seems to vary with respect to the others in terms of

EXHIBIT 8

SIZE OF SAMPLE NECESSARY TO BE PRACTICALLY SURE (19 TIMES OUT OF 20) OF ACCURACY WITHIN LIMITS SHOWN

Number of		SURV	SURVEY ANSWER IN	IN % - LIM	ITS OF ACC	URACY OF SI	% - LIMITS OF ACCURACY OF SURVEY ANSWER	ER (± %)	
Interviews	10	20	30	40	50	09	70	80	06
9-15	20.0	27.0	30.0	33.0	33.0	33.0	30.0	27.0	20.0
16-35	15.0	20.0	23.0	24.0	25.0	24.0	23.0	20.0	15.0
36-50	10.0	15.0	20.0	20.0	20.0	20.0	20.0	15.0	10.0
51-65	0.6	15.0	15.0	15.0	15.0	15.0	15.0	15.0	0.6
66-99	8.0	10.0	15.0	15.0	15.0	15.0	15.0	10.0	8.0
100-129	7.0	0.6	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	0.6	7.0
130-159	0.9	8.0	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	8.0	0.9
160-199	5.0	7.0	8.0	8.0	8.0	8.0	0.8	7.0	5.0
200-249	4.5	0.9	7.0	7.0	8.0	7.0	7.0	0.9	4.5
250-299	0.4	0.9	0.9	7.0	7.0	7.0	0.9	0.9	7.0
300-399	3.5	5.0	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	5.0	3.5
. + 007	3.0	0.4	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	4.0	3.0
A								The state of the s	

Example: Given a number of interviews entering the class 100-129, there are 19 chances in 20 that a survey answer of 30% is accurate within limits of plus or minus 10%; that is, that the true answer, if all members of the public had been sampled, would be between 20% and 40%. This exhibit indicates the accuracy of a survey answer according to the number of interviews performed, for a 95% confidence level.

Caution: applicable only to samples chosen by random methods.

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education and occupation. Great caution should be applied to making distinctions among towns; the results should be interpreted as broad indications of public opinion in these small- to medium-sized communities rather than as precise measurements, as the figures seem to imply.

General Importance of Foreign Ownership

The questionnaire contained six questions (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, 16 and 18) that were designed to reveal attitudes and opinions on the question of foreign ownership of industry in a total Canadian context.

Spontaneous Problem Ranking

First, the respondent was asked to list the problems that he considered to be of greatest concern to Canada. The intention was to determine where foreign ownership was located on this perceived problem hierarchy. A summary of the most frequently mentioned problems is presented in Exhibit 9, page 66, along with the relative ranking of "American influence".

On a spontaneous basis, "bread-and-butter" issues, such as inflation, high cost of food, and unemployment, as well as the pollution issue, are of most concern. "American influence" is ranked low on the scale for all four communities. The differences of ranking among the communities are not statistically significant.

^{4.} In a second part of the question, the respondent was asked to name Canada's benefits and opportunities. The results are excluded from this analysis, since they contribute little to the main concern.

PROBLEMS PERCEIVED TO BE OF GREATEST CONCERN

	Average	% OF RE	SPONDENTS	S MENTION	ING EACH	ISSUE
Problems	Ranking	Average	#N	#S	#E	#₩
High cost of living/						
inflation	1	37	56	28	36	27
Pollution/ecology	2	20	23	15	13	29
Unemployment	3	19	32	10	9	26
High cost of food	4	19	16	29	12	17
Drug abuse	5	17	14	6	21	29
Government policy/ expenditure	6	11	6	12	15	14
Welfare/welfare abuse	7	10	11	4	8	18
Crime/law and order	8	9	4	7	10	15
High taxes (unspecified)	9	9	6	10	13	7
Education/schools	10	8	10	4	10	9
American influence	19	3	4	1	2	4

There are a number of possible explanations for the respondents dentification of problems:

- (a) There may be a tendency to rank highest those issues having a visible, immediate, and material impact on the respondents' pocketbook and security.
- (b) Greater media coverage is usually devoted to such immediate issues, tending to reinforce their importance as matters of current concern.
- (c) The relative lack of concern expressed about foreign ownership may reflect the implicit assumption that Canadians can and will control their own national destiny, that they will take appropriate steps if Canadian independence is really threatened, and that there is no substantial threat at this time.
- (d) It may reflect a lack of concern in general regarding a probable long-term threat to Canadian independence.

Response to subsequent questions may help to throw some light on these hypotheses.

Seriousness of Problems Named

The respondents were asked how serious they believed were the problems they had mentioned. The results indicated that for most respondents problems were considered "very serious", while a significant minority of respondents classified them as "fairly serious". However, no particular problems were characterized as more serious than others.

News Headline on Foreign Ownership

Question 3 utilized a "cartoon prompt" to focus respondents specifically on the foreign ownership issue and to try to determine the strength of opinion, for or against, when probed on this one issue. The

cartoon was presented to half the sample of respondents with the headline "Big U.S. company promises new plant for community" and to the other half as "Big Canadian company promises new plant for community".

The introduction of a major U.S. firm did cause a reaction among respondents, as shown in Exhibit 11, page 70. The "good for community", "keeps taxes down" and "more business in area" responses to the Canadian firm item are replaced by negative reactions such as "too much U.S. control", "prefer Canadian company", and "do not want more U.S. companies". In addition, the generally favourable reactions heading both exhibits ("provides employment/jobs", and "good/great - unspecified") are reduced in the U.S. company situation from 87 per cent of respondents in reaction to Canadian company to 53 per cent in reaction to the U.S. company.

The net impact of the foreign ownership issue in this question is evident in the proportion of negative responses in Exhibit 11. Of the 144 per cent sum of responses accounted for by the 12 most frequent replies, over a third or 54 per cent cumulatively were related to negative effects of foreign investment. A breakdown of the sample into respondents employed by foreign-owned companies and those employed by Canadian-owned firms showed that there was little measurable difference between them. Similarly, a breakdown of the respondents by age group showed little difference between those 40 and over and those under 40.

Thus, one can conclude that, while respondents spontaneously

EXHIBIT 10

RESPONSE TO NEWSPAPER HEADLINE
THAT REFERS TO CANADIAN FIRM
(PERCENT)

Response	Average Ranking	Average	#N	#S	#E	4kW
Provides employment/jobs	1	50	48	51	41	62
Good/great (unspecified)	2	37	21	30	42	55
Good for community/ specific areas	3	18	18	10	27	18
Keeps taxes down	4	13	*	7	41	5
More business in community/area	5	10	8	10	11	12
What kind of plant	6	9	10	8	12	6
Don't believe - just promises	7	9	24	9	3	*
Not interested/ doesn't matter	8	5	4	7	10	2
Good if not polluting	9	5	3	10	5	2
Raises cost of living/housing	11	4	6	*	4	6
Miscellaneous negative	12	4	5	*	4	5

SUM OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE REPLIES

Positive				134%
Generally	negative	and	neutral	36%

EXHIBIT 11

RESPONSE TO NEWSPAPER HEADLINE
THAT REFERS TO U.S. COMPANY
(PERCENT)

	Average					
Response	Ranking	Average	#N	#S	#E	₩.
Provides employment/jobs	1	36	28	33	42	42
Good/great (unspecified)	2	17 ,	16	18	10	24
Too much/growing U.S. control (N)	3	16	16	16	21	12
Prefer Canadian company (N)	4	14	20	1	14	19
Too many, don't want any more U.S. companies (N)	5	13	12	9	15	15
Good for community/ specific area	6	11	21	6	10	9
More business in community/area	8	7	7	7	2	10
We need Americans/Canadians won't invest here	7	7	1	5	14	6
Keeps taxes down	9	6	*	5	18	2
Against foreign ownership (N)	11	6	6	*	9	7
Money/profit should stay here (N)	10	6	10	6	1	7
Don't know/not stated	12	5	*	18	2	*

 $\underline{\text{Note}}$: $\underline{\underline{\text{N}}}$ refers to a basically negative reply with reference to foreign ownership.

SUM OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE REPLIES

Positive	84%
Generally negative or neutral	5%
Negative re foreign ownership	54%
•	

ranked foreign ownership relative low among other current concerns, when faced with a specific example of growing foreign ownership, they reacted fairly strongly to the issue and mainly against foreign ownership. This may point to reason (c) above as an important cause of the low concern with American influence expressed in response to Question 1.

Awareness of Foreign Ownership

Question 7 was aimed at measuring the public's awareness of or knowledge about foreign ownership. Respondents were asked to state the nationality of ownership of a sample list of companies operating in Canada.

The results of this question are shown in Exhibit 12. As can be seen from the 56.8 per cent average correct identification, the public's awareness is quite low. Community #S's lower score may be attributed in part to a relative lower educational level, while community #E's higher score could be partly due to its proximity to Toronto resulting in greater media exposure.

For companies which have strong national identities through historical awareness and heavy advertising programs (such as automobile companies, breweries, and sports equipment manufacturers), the level of correct identification in all towns was above the average level. Identification was higher also where the company represented the dominant industry in the community.

EXHIBIT 12

AWARENESS OF OWNERSHIP OF MAJOR CORPORATIONS

		N#	Z	S#	S	#	非	##M	
	Average %	%	Don't	%	Don't	%	Don't	%	Don't
Companies1		Correct	Know	Correct	Know	Correct	Know	Correct	Know
Automobiles (F)	75	73	9	70	10	79	-}<	79	*
Chemical (F)	52	35	14	47	24	71	15	54	26
Mining & Fabricating (C)	777	57	17	41	39	45	19	34	30
Electronics Co. (F)	50	56	25	38	43	59	18	45	777
0il (F)	57	61	9	97	20	67	13	55	19
Brewery (C)	98	95	2	82	6	85	10	80	14
Pulp and Paper (C)	45	777	33	67	27	20	21	36	67
Pulp and Paper (C)	54	63	5	41	26	57	21	55	32
Mining & Fabricating (C)	48	67	14	30	52	58	20	36	47
Steel (C)	51	47	18	48	29	50	15	58	30
Electrical (F)	57	55	5	40	14	75	6	58	17
Electronics (C)	52	77	16	45	35	43	13	78	10
Electronics (F)	57	56	00	47	27	71	10	55	29
Sports Equipment (C)	69	78	6	99	28	73	11	58	31
Average Correct	57	59		67		63		95	

Note: 1. The names of the companies are excluded for presentation purposes. Firms were selected in some cases from the manufacturing and resource industries studied in the overall project.

The results of this question could point to a general apathy of Canadians toward foreign ownership, since the identification scores averaged just over 50 per cent. On the other hand, since a large number of the responses were in the "don't know" category, correct identifications were far more frequent than incorrect ones. It may be concluded that the general public in Ontario's small urban centres is more or less aware of who owns major companies operating in Canada, but not to a degree sufficient to provide informed opinions about the effects that foreign-owned companies in general have on the country.

Statements of Opinion on Ownership

Question 16 presented a series of statements of opinion on such issues as foreign capital and Canadian entrepreneurship, and measured respondents' attitudes in relation to these statements. The statements themselves were relatively provocative and blunt, and reactions were expected to represent a deeper level of respondent opinion than preceding questions. The responses are summarized in Exhibit 13, page 74. The ranking of the average scores from positive to negative indicates that relative strength or "emotional context" of opinions.

Apparently respondents tend to agree with the traditional stereotype of an ultra-conservative Canadian business community and investors; in addition, they believe that ownership has no significant impact on employment in the community, and they are somewhat of the opinion

EXHIBIT 13

AGREE/DISAGREE SCORE ON STATEMENTS RE FOREIGN OWNERSHIP (Q.16)

Abridged Statements	Average	#N	#S	#E	#₩
Canadian-owned companies less adventurous	+164	201	85	196	172
Foreign-owned companies can afford more financial risks	+141	171	115	143	134
Canadians not willing to invest in Canadian companies	+111	133	66	106	138
No difference in providing jobs	+ 88	12	188	79	74
No difference in behaviour as corporate citizens	+ 74	81	104	56	56
Issue not important	+ 38	-71	79	30	0
Canadian-owned companies can grow without foreign-based investors	+ 24	45	41	12	0
No difference in amount of research and development	- 14	-105	60	2	-12
No difference in long-term effects	- 16	- 45	89	-42	-67

Note: Score shown is sum of "agree" replies (to which a 3, 2, or 1 positive value is assigned according to whether respondent agrees strongly, somewhat, or mildly) and "disagree" replies (to which the equivalent negative value is assigned); therefore, a positive score indicates more agreement than disagreement to each statement.

that the issue of foreign ownership is not important and that Canadian companies can grow on Canadian capital.

The major areas of concern with regard to foreign ownership are its long-term effects and its contribution to research and development activity. In fact, concern regarding these two points was considerable in communities #N, #E, and #W; the apparently more pro-American predisposition of community #S caused a reduction in the overall level of concern (disagreement) expressed.

A comparison of the under-40 and 40-and-over age groups revealed a slight tendency across all four towns for the younger group to feel more strongly than the older group that there <u>is</u> a difference in long-term effects and that overall the issue <u>is</u> important. Similarly, the younger group were somewhat more apt to feel that there were differences in the amount of R & D carried out in Canada and in being good corporate citizens. Curiously, perhaps, the younger group on the whole (i.e. with exceptions on an individual town basis) also emphasized more strongly than the 40-and-over respondents the lack of risk-taking evident among Canadians and the Canadian business community.

Import of U.S. Capital

In Question 18, respondents were asked whether they thought there was enough U.S. capital in Canada now, or whether they would like to see more U.S. direct investment in the Canadian economy. Exhibit 14, below, summarizes the results.

EXHIBIT 14

OPINIONS ON IMPORT OF U.S. CAPITAL (PERCENT)

Answers	Average	#N	#S	#E	<i>‡</i> ₩
Total interviews U.S. capital enough now Like to see more Undecided	100	100	100	100	100
	69	80	58	69	70
	15	14	11	18	10
	16	6	30	13	14

Approximately 70 per cent of respondents were of the opinion that there is sufficient U.S. capital now; 15 per cent favoured more inflow, and 15 per cent were undecided. Community #S demonstrated more pro-U.S. sentiment, while community #N - which is characterized by highly visible examples of American ownership and control - produced the highest anti-foreign investment response to this question. A breakdown of the under-40 and 40-and-over groups showed that across the four towns, the younger group felt somewhat more strongly than the older group that there is enough U.S. capital now.

Summary

In summary, these results suggest that foreign ownership is not a high priority issue to the majority of the respondents, in terms of their everyday concerns. When the issue is brought directly to their attention, however, attitudes toward foreign ownership harden and may indicate some "enough is enough" sentiment. At the same time, the general public seems to regard Canadian business leaders and companies as inferior,

in some critical aspects, to their U.S. equivalents. This kind of attitude could also indicate a fatalistic outlook, lack of national pride, and general apathy on the issue of foreign ownership.

Foreign Ownership and the Local Community

Seven questions (Nos. 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 15) were designed to measure opinions and attitudes regarding foreign ownership on a local community level. Once again, the questions progressed from the general to the specific.

Ranking of Major Concerns

First, respondents were asked to rank in order of importance the specified issues that affect the local community. Responses shown in Exhibits 15 to 18, pages 78 to 81, indicate that the foreign ownership issue is ranked about sixth after food prices, drug abuse, road safety, pollution, strikes, and unemployment.

Importance of Local Companies

In order to assess in what way companies are perceived as important in the local community, respondents were asked to select the three companies they felt were most important to their own local community. In each community, respondents were asked their reasons for selecting the one company they described as being most important. These are summarized in Exhibit 19, page 82.

EXHIBIT 15

EXTENT OF CONCERN ABOUT PROBLEMS AFFECTING LOCAL COMMUNITY (Q 4-b)

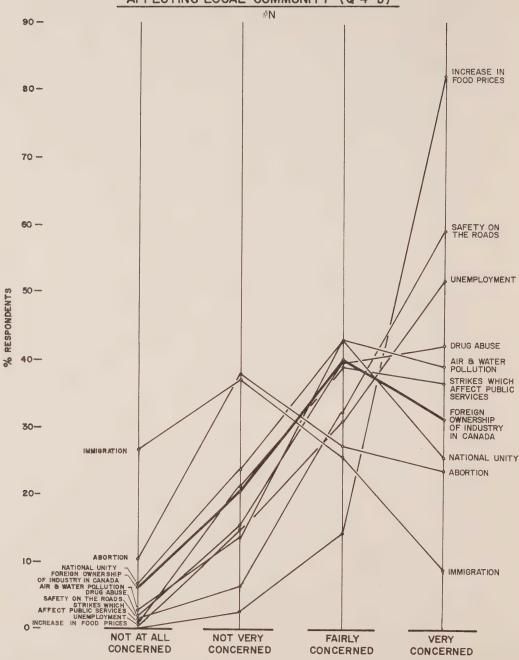


EXHIBIT 16

EXTENT OF CONCERN ABOUT PROBLEMS AFFECTING LOCAL COMMUNITY (Q.4-b)

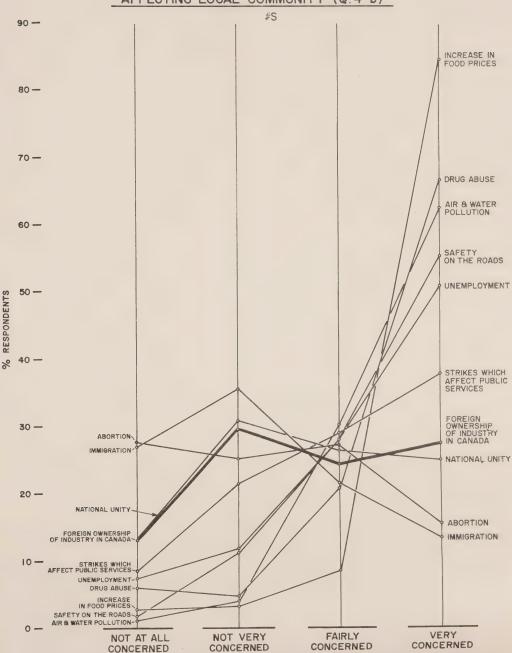


EXHIBIT 17

EXTENT OF CONCERN ABOUT PROBLEMS AFFECTING LOCAL COMMUNITY (Q.4-b)

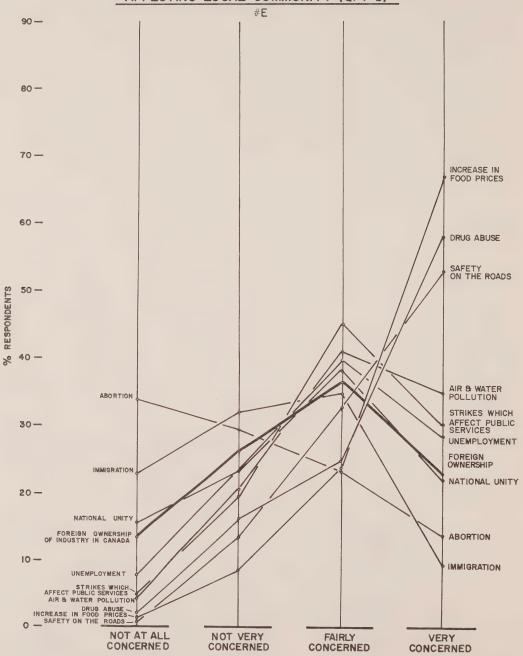


EXHIBIT 18

EXTENT OF CONCERN ABOUT PROBLEMS AFFECTING LOCAL COMMUNITY (Q.4-b)

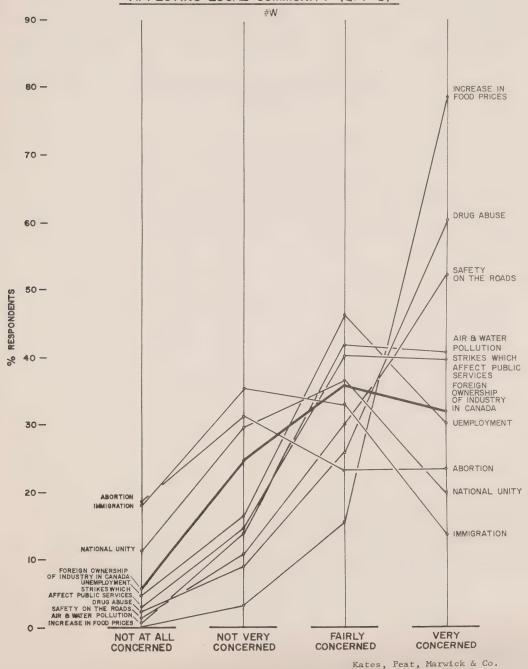


EXHIBIT 19

REASONS FOR SELECTING INDIVIDUAL COMPANIES AS IMPORTANT TO THE LOCAL COMMUNITY (PERCENT)

Responses	Average Ranking	Average	#N	#S	#E	<i>‡</i> ⊧₩
Largest employer/ big company	1	70	81	66	83	52
Good conditions/benefits/ good to employees	2	18	32	10	12	17
Good wages	3	15	28	10	12	11
Has done a lot for community	4	13	22	8	16	7
Respondent/spouse/ friend works there	5	12	3	23	8	14
Canadian-owned	16	1	*	1	1	4

In order of predominance, the main reasons cited were the number of jobs provided, working conditions, wage levels, and community contributions. The fact that a company happens to be Canadian-owned does not seem to carry much weight with the general public, nor with the younger, as opposed to the older respondents.

Each company mentioned by a respondent was rated on a number of corporate attributes. Exhibit 20, page 84, summarizes the results for seven companies, each of which was mentioned by a minimum of 40 respondents as a first, second, or third choice company of importance.

It appears that foreign-controlled companies are viewed as superior to Canadian-owned firms on three of the five characteristics: wages, contributions to charity or community funds, and support of community activities or functions.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Foreign and Canadian Ownership

Four questions (Nos. 9, 10, 11, and 12) sought to determine the perceived advantages and disadvantages to the local community of Canadian-owned and foreign-owned companies.

Exhibits 21 and 22, pages 85 and 86, detail the advantages of foreign and Canadian ownership respectively. Exhibit 21 reverts to the pattern exhibited in previous questions - that is, that the foreign-owned company at least provides jobs, growth, and prosperity. No advantages were mentioned by almost 20 per cent of respondents.

EXHIBIT 20

RATING OF COMPANIES MOST FREQUENTLY MENTIONED AS MOST IMPORTANT TO COMMUNITY (PERCENT)

Foreign	85	84	80	78	75
Canadian Average	83	73	71	65	74
Total Canadian Average Average	84	78	75	70	75
Canadian #4 Town #W	91	69	74	65	79
Foreign #3	83	87	73	61	29
Canadian #3 Town #W	06	06	82	61	74
Canadian #2 Town #E	71	89	54	62	65
Foreign #2 Town #S	85	74	75	80	78
Canadian #1 Town #S	81	99	70	7.1	79
Foreign #1	80	06	92	92	81
Companies' Attributes	1. Provide good working conditions.	2. Pay employees well.	3. Contribute to charity/ community funds.	4. Support many community activities/functions.	5. Very concerned about pollution control.

"Foreign #1, Town #N" refers to a foreign-controlled company in Town #N, while "Canadian" refers similarly to a company that is Canadian-controlled in each town indicated. A total of four Canadian- and three the local foreign-controlled companies were mentioned as first, second, or third choice in importance community frequently enough (over 40 times) to have the results shown in this exhibit. Notes:

positive or negative alternatives of the same behavioural characteristic (e.g. "provide good working The percentages shown indicate positive associations drawn by respondents when presented with the conditions", as opposed to "do not provide good working conditions"). 2 .

EXHIBIT 21

RESPONSES ON ADVANTAGES OF FOREIGN
OWNERSHIP TO LOCAL COMMUNITY
(PERCENT)

Answers	Average	#N	#S	#E	∜#W
Total interviews	100	100	100	100	100
Provides employment	43	29	46	53	45
No advantages	19	22	25	16	14
Influx of money	11	14	5	12	12
Develops Canadian industry	9	10	7	14	6
Progress/expansion/development in country/community	8	6	1	11	12
Don't know/not stated	8	3	17	5	6
More capital	7	10	4	7	8
Taxes paid to town/community	6	2	4	13	3
Higher wages	6	9	3	3	10
Miscellaneous	6	6	2	10	6
Higher standard of living	3	3	2	1	6
Helps economy	3	7	3	2	*
More experience/know-how	2	1	1	2	3
Better working conditions	2	4	*	*	2
Keeps prices down/lower	2	2	*	4	4
Brings more business/people into area	2	3	1	1	3
More competition	1	*	ર્યંત	1	2

EXHIBIT 22

RESPONSES ON ADVANTAGES OF

CANADIAN OWNERSHIP TO LOCAL COMMUNITY

(PERCENT)

Answers	Average	#N	#S	#E	#W
Total interviews	100	100	100	100	100
Money/profits retained in Canada	47	59	26	48	53
More jobs/work for Canadians	20	26	22	20	11
No advantages	10	5	21	13	1
Improves/helps economy	9	4	5	14	12
Principle/national pride	8	10	6	10	6
Miscellaneous	8	9	6	9	10
More Canadian control; decision-making	7	7	1	9	12
Preserve Canadian identity	7	3	4	10	9
More concern for Canada/ Canadians/community	7	9	4	7	7
Don't know/not stated	6	1	15	2	6
Lower taxes/taxes remain here	5	8	5	4	2
Builds country, expansion/ development	5	6	2	6	8
Cheaper/better/Canadian products	5	8	ж	6	4
Contributions to community	4	2	2	6	5
Unity	3	3	*	5	2
More Canadians in top jobs	3	4	ャ	5	2
Easier to get parts/Canadian parts	2	6	1	*	1
Freedom from foreign/U.S. control	2	2	*	4	4
Permanence of firms	1	*	2	1	1

Exhibit 22 indicates a healthy awareness of the key benefits of Canadian ownership in that 47 per cent of responses related to "money/profits retained in Canada". Only 10 per cent saw no advantages in Canadian ownership.

Exhibits 23 and 24 present the disadvantages of foreign and Canadian ownership. It can be readily seen that "no disadvantages for Canadian ownership" is relatively high at 53 per cent, as compared with the foreign ownership score of 25 per cent. Also, there is a fairly high awareness of the core issues involved in foreign ownership; for example, in Exhibit 23, 27 per cent mentioned "profits exported" and 17 per cent mentioned "domination/control".

In Exhibit 24, one can see the usual "negatives" associated with Canadian ownership "less capital available" and "Canadian investors less confident in Canadian market".

Exhibit 25 summarizes the responses to the questions of advantages and disadvantages of Canadian and foreign ownership; it shows that most people feel that there are advantages (49 per cent) or both advantages and disadvantages (40 per cent) to Canadian ownership. A high percentage (60 per cent) believes that there are both advantages and disadvantages to foreign ownership, but only a minority (19 per cent) replied that there were "advantages only" to foreign ownership.

The answers to these four questions can be interpreted as showing that the small-town respondents have fairly clear ideas about

EXHIBIT 23

RESPONSES ON DISADVANTAGES OF FOREIGN
OWNERSHIP TO LOCAL COMMUNITY
(PERCENT)

	Average	#N	#S	#E	#₩
Total interviews	100	100	100	100	100
Profits exported	27	33	12	32	31
No disadvantages	25	22	38	24	15
Domination/control	17	14	12	16	24
Miscellaneous	9	11	3	13	7
Don't know/not stated	9	4	17	3	11
Plants, hence jobs, not permanent	8	2	7	14	8
Foreign bosses	7	6	5	10	6
Drain on resources	6	15	1	1	6
Preferential hiring	4	3	3	6	5
Higher prices/cost of living	3	7	1	4	2
Don't pay enough	2	1	2	1	4
Pollution	2	2	5	1	2
Less Canadian investment	2	2	2	2	3
Not interested/involved in community problems	2	3	1	2	3
Less opportunity to develop industries resources	2	3	1	*	3
Decisions made outside	1	1	*	4	*
Parts/materials harder to get	1	4	1	*	*

EXHIBIT 24

RESPONSES ON DISADVANTAGES OF CANADIAN OWNERSHIP TO LOCAL COMMUNITY

Answers	Average	#N	#S	#E	#W
Total interviews	100	100	100	100	100
No disadvantages	53	50	59	58	46
Don't know/not stated	11	18	4	12	10
Less capital available	9	16	5	11	8
Canadian investors less confident in Canadian market	8	10	3	10	10
Shortage of funds/money	5	4	1	9	4
Slower growth	3	2	2	2	5
Smaller companies	3	8	2	1	1
Smaller market	3	%	2	2	*
Lower wages	2	4	1	3	2
Higher costs/prices	2	4	1	1	4

EXHIBIT 25

SUMMARY ADVANTAGES/DISADVANTAGES
OF CANADIAN OWNERSHIP TO LOCAL COMMUNITY

	Average	#N	#S	#E	<i>‡</i> ₽₩
Total Interviewed (Not stated=38 interviewees)	91	98	77	96	92
Advantages Only	49%	46	51	47	50
Disadvantages Only	2	1	4	1	-
Both	40	48	22	39	50
"No advantages" and "No disadvantages"	10	4	23	13	7

SUMMARY ADVANTAGES/DISADVANTAGES OF FOREIGN OWNERSHIP IN LOCAL COMMUNITY

	Average	#N	#S	#E	#₩
Total Interviewed (Not stated= 56 interviewees	86	94	74	92	84
Advantages Only	19%	20	27	16	14
Disadvantages Only	13	19	15	7	12
Both	60	58	43	67	72
"No advantages" and "No disadvantages	8	3	16	11	1

the pros and cons of foreign ownership vis-a-vis Canadian ownership at the local level. At the same time, if foreign ownership means the provision of employment and growth opportunities that would not otherwise be available, the establishment of a foreign-controlled company is acceptable. Perhaps respondents feel that the potential negative effects of foreign ownership are someone else's responsibility - the provincial or federal government's, for instance - rather than a grass roots concern for the community.

Overall Effect of Foreign Ownership

Question No.15 asked for an overall opinion on the favourable or the unfavourable impact of foreign-owned companies on the local community. Exhibit 26, details the results. Foreign ownership was viewed as favourable by two-thirds of the respondents, while less than 10 per cent viewed it as unfavourable (8 per cent average for the four communities). Opinions seemed to be particularly strong in community #N where only 4 per cent failed to say whether the effect was favourable or unfavourable, in contrast with community #S, where 40 per cent did not state an opinion.

Major reasons volunteered for why foreign-owned companies had a favourable overall effect included "provides employment", "helpful to local growth",, and "brings money in". Community #N and to some extent #W also expressed "higher pay", while community #E respondents said they were "necessary for survival of community", as well as "helpful

EXHIBIT 26

RESPONSES ON OVERALL EFFECT OF FOREIGN-OWNED COMPANIES ON LOCAL COMMUNITY (PERCENT)

TOWNS	#S #E #M	100 100 100	65		34 20 23		100 100 100			28	*	<u>.</u>	11 11 15	11	2 12 5	2	*		* *	100 100 100	55	27 41 32		1 * 1	
	Average #N	100 100	66 85		20 4	*	100 100	71 61		18 21			12 13		5		*	2 5	1	100 100	-		4 1	-	
	Answers	Total Interviews	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neither	Don't Know	Why Favourable	Provides Employment	Necessary for Survival of Community	Helpful to Growth & Improvement of Community	Higher Pay	Good Working Conditions	Brings Money In	Keeps Taxes Down	Majority Foreign-Owned	Creates Business/Industry	Nobody Complains	Miscellaneous Favourable	Don't Know/Not Stated	Rating of Effects	Extremely Important	Fairly Important	Not at All Important	Don't Know	

to growth and improvement to the community". Respondents' rating of effects as "extremely important" was strong at an average of 66 per cent across the four towns. The responses to this question seem to indicate that community residents feel that foreign-owned companies bring positive benefits to the local community.

Impact of Foreign Ownership on Personal Life

Three questions (Nos. 8, 13, and 14) probed opinions and attitudes toward foreign ownership within the context of the respondents' personal life. The questions were designed to measure the importance of the issue when specifically related to its impact on respondents' job, place of employment, etc.

First, respondents were asked how foreign ownership affected them <u>personally</u>, if at all. Exhibit 27 shows that 43 per cent of the total sample said it made no difference to them. In community #E, however, a relatively smaller number (22 per cent) said that ownership did not affect them. Total favourable replies were 29 per cent and unfavourable 46 per cent.

Respondents also were asked about their attitudes toward the nationality of their employer. Exhibit 28 shows the results. Sixty-four per cent of the employed respondents were employed by Canadian-owned companies, although the percentages of those working for foreign-owned companies in communities #S and #E were double those in #N and #W.

RESPONSES ON PERSONAL EFFECTS OF FOREIGN OWNERSHIP (PERCENT)

A			"-		T
Answers	Average	#N	#S	#E	#W
Total interviews	100	100	100	100	100
No difference to me	43	53	48	22	46
Profits go out/no help to us (U)	10	9	2	23	7
Creates/provides employment (F)	9	6	10	20	2
Fewer jobs for Canadians (U)	8	6	7	14	4
Spouse works there/can't know it(F)	7	2	6	10	10
Higher prices (U)	7	14	3	5	7
Miscellaneous favourable	5	2	4	15	1
Miscellaneous unfavourable	5	2	*	8	9
No job security/could close any time (U)	4	*	10	3	3
Loss of our identity (U)	4	4	1	6	7
Don't know/not stated	4	2	6	2	4
Higher standard of living (F)	3	2	1	4	· 6
Better investors (F)	2	1	*	5	*
Lower prices (f)	2	2	4	2	*
More foreigners hired (U)	2	1	*	3	2
Less concern for community welfare (U)	2	%	4	1	2
Better working conditions/ higher wages (F)	1	*	ポ	3	*
Materials/parts/service hard to get (U)	1	4	*	*	*
Dictate their own policies (U)	1	*	2	3	*
Lower income/standard of living(U)	1	*	1	*	*

Note: "F" refers to favourable comment, while "U" refers to unfavourable comment.

EXHIBIT 28

ATTITUDE TOWARD EMPLOYMENT IN FOREIGN/CANADIAN-OWNED COMPANY (PERCENT)

ANSWERS	Average	#N	#S	#E	#W
Total Interviews	100	100	100	100	100
Respondent Not Employed	45	51	49	37	44
Respondent Employed	55	49	51	63	56
Total Employed	100	100	100	100	100
Works for Canadian-Owned Co.	64	79	46	58	73
Works for Foreign-Owned Co.	32	20	46	43	22
Don't Know	4	1	8	*	6
Company Ownership Matters	33	45	21	27	40
Company Ownership Does Not Matter	57	52	62	67	47
Company Ownership/No Opinion	10	3	17	7	13
Total Concerned	100	100	100	100	100
Prefer to Work for Canadian Co.	38	32	22	48	50
No Security in Foreign-Owned Co.	20	11	54	7	7
Should Keep Things Canadian-Owned	22	22	18	28	21
Profits Should Stay In Canada	4	14	*	*	3
Canada/Our Country should Benefit More	6	14	*	11	*
Miscellaneous	11	13	6	4	19
Don't Know/Not Stated	1	*	፟፟፟፟፟	3	*

Fifty-seven per cent of the employed group said that the nationality of the employing company did not matter and 33 per cent said it did matter. There is some correlation (marginally reliable statistically) between "company ownership matters" and "works for a Canadian-owned company", as shown by the results of #N and #W as opposed to #S and #E.

Among those concerned with the nationality of their employer (that is, those saying "company ownership matters"), 38 per cent said they preferred to work for a Canadian company. Other responses were of a more general pro-Canadian or anti-foreign nature. The samples of those indicating concern were too small on a town-by-town basis to provide statistically reliable reasons for such concern.

Opinions were most strongly polarized in community #N, and the highest level of indifference occurred in community #S. The net result, however, is that respondents seem not to be overly concerned about the nationality of their employer.

Finally, respondents were asked for their attitudes toward the nationality of their spouse's employer. In this case, as shown in Exhibit 29, 71 per cent of respondents said that "company ownership does not matter". It appears that once the issue is made less personal than in the preceding question, the level of indifference rises.

Attitudes Toward Government Record and Future Involvement

The final group of questions (Nos. 5, 17, and 19) was aimed

EXHIBIT 29

ATTITUDE TO OWNERSHIP OF COMPANY EMPLOYING SPOUSE (PERCENT)

ANSWERS	Average	∦N	∦S	#E	#₩
Total Interviews	100	100	100	100	100
Not Married	15	19	15	7	19
Spouse Not Employed	33	36	40	19	37
Spouse Employed	52	45	45	74	44
Total Employed	100	100	100	100	100
Works for Canadian-Owned Co.	63	67	47	64	75
Works for Foreign-Owned Co.	25	20	30	36	15
Don't Know	12	13	23	1	10
Company Ownership Matters	21	20	11	26	25
Company Ownership Does Not Matter	71	72	79	64	70
No Opinion/Company Ownership	9	8	11	10	5
Total Concerned	100	100	100	100	100
Just Prefer Canadian Firm	31	49	27	31	17
Should Keep Things Canadian Owned	27	13	59	3	34
Feel More Secure	13	8	14	31	*
Loyalty/Patriotism/Pride	16	28	*	20	17
Profits Should Stay in Canada	10	8	*	30	*
Miscellaneous	11	8	*	5	31
Don't Know/Not Stated		*	*	*	*

at uncovering the general public's opinions and attitudes on the following issues:

- government action on the foreign ownership issue relative to other issues
- whether government should do more on the foreign ownership question
- the perceived value in having a government screening agency.

Assessment of Government Action

Respondents were asked for their opinion on the government's past action on the foreign ownership issue. The results are presented in Exhibit 30. On average, just over half the respondents wanted more government action; 21 per cent wanted no further action, and 27 per cent were undecided. Responses for communities #N and #S were quite different, with ever 60 per cent of #N respondents favouring more action and only 30 per cent of #S respondents feeling more action is desirable. While communities #N, #E, and #W all had about 20 per cent "don't know" responses, #S had almost half of its respondents in a "don't know" category; this may reflect the lower level of education in this community.

When the results of this question are viewed in relation to other areas of the survey - particulary questions 13 and 14 discussed above - it seems that the general public of the small towns would prefer to replace any personal action on the issue (for example, endeavouring to work for a Canadian-owned firm) with government action.

EXHIBIT 30

ASSESSMENT OF GOVERNMENT ACTION ON ISSUES OF FOREIGN OWNERSHIP (PERCENT)

	Average	#N	#S	#E	#W
Enough to Improve Situation	21	17	20	25	23
Not Enough to Improve Situation	51	62	30	54	56
Don't Know	27	21	49	21	18

Need for Increased Action

Respondents were asked whether the government should do more; if so, in general terms or in specific industries, and which industries. The results in Exhibit 31 show that 73 per cent favour more government action. Community #N is higher than average at 82 per cent, and #S is lower at 61 per cent. On an age breakdown, the younger group (under 40) in all four communities were somewhat stronger in their view that government should do more.

Just over half of all respondents and approximately 70 per cent of those favouring more action thought it should be directed to certain industries. Industries felt more important than others with regard to governmental action on foreign ownership were natural resources, mining, automobile manufacturing, oil refining and petroleum industries, and forest-based industries.

Government
Screening Agency

Opinions were sought on the concept of a government screening agency for <u>new</u> foreign investment. Exhibit 32 shows that an average of 84 per cent of respondents thought screening of new foreign capital to be a good idea and only 8 per cent disagreed with it. The breakdown of this result showed no consistent trend that the four towns' younger people felt any different from the older people.

EXHIBIT 31

ATTITUDES TOWARD MORE GOVERNMENT ACTION ON FOREIGN OWNERSHIP (PERCENT)

GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO MORE	Average	#N	#S	五非	#W	
Yes	73	82	61	77	71	
	/ 7	0	60	67	6.7	
SOME INDUSTRIES MORE IMPORTANT						
Yes	51	65	41	55	42	
Not Stated	21	/1	70	7 7	28	
INDUSTRIES FELT MORE IMPORTANT (Among those who						
felt government should do more - i.e. 72.9%)						
Oil Refining/Petroleum	13	17	7	14	19	
Automobiles	14	5	20	18	14	
Natural Resources	18	20	9	25	21	
Mining	15	97	2	7	9	_
Lumber/Pulp/Paper/Forest Products	12	18	13	00	∞	
Gas	6	11	9	9	12	
Steel - Ore/Metal	9	5	14	-	9	
Food/Food Processing	7	70	* +	o -	m -1	
Textiles	1 0	٠ ٦	× 0	×	k (
Chemical Plants	n c	1 7	0 %	⊣ -}	7 4	
Farming/Agriculture	200	± *	< -%		· · · · ·	
Haro	1 2	3	7	7) 水	
Environmental Polluters	3	2	8	80	*	
Construction/Housing	4	00	*	9	m	
Unspecified Manufacturing	2	7	*	r	2	
All Industries	m (÷ (0 0	* (2	
Miscellaneous	28	19	6	26	91	_
Don't Know/Not Stated	2	2	2		50	

Kates, Peat, Marwick & Co.

ATTITUDE TO GOVERNMENT SCREENING AGENCY (PERCENT)

Answers	Average	#N	#S	#E	<i>#</i> ₩
Screening of Foreign Capital:					
A good Idea	84	85	77	93	83
Not a Good Idea	8	13	4	5	9
Undecided	7	1	17	2	8
Not Stated	1	1	3	*	*

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Apparently, the idea of government responsibility is very appealing to most citizens interviewed in the four small urban centres. The concern that government has not done enough and the relatively high levels of enthusiasm for more government action in general, and even more support for a specific measure, would appear to be a mandate for future government action. This interpretation should be modified, however, in view of the varying degrees of support among communities and, particularly, the early indications of relatively little concern about foreign ownership among the respondents.

SUMMARY

General Importance of Foreign Ownership

- Foreign ownership, on a spontaneous, unprompted, "top-of-the-mind" basis, is not stated to be a major issue by the general public in Ontario's small urban centres.
- Explicit examples of foreign ownership cause antiforeign ownership sentiment to arise, relative to Canadian ownership (as identified by the cartoon prompt).
- The public has a stereotyped impression of conservatism in the Canadian business community.
- The public sees little difference between foreignand Canadian- owned companies in terms of their impact on employment.
- Only about half of the general public is informed about the nationality of ownership of companies operating in Canada.

- There is some concern over long-term effects of foreign ownership and over its impact on research and development activities.
- The vast majority are of the opinion that there is enough U.S. capital in Canada now.

Foreign Ownership and the Local Community

- Foreign ownership, on a "prompted" basis, ranks sixth or seventh in importance among such community concerns as food prices, drug abuse, road safety, pollution, and unemployment.
- Companies in a community are considered important if they create jobs and provide good working conditions and wages. Nationality of ownership does not seem to be important in this context.
- Foreign-owned companies seem to enjoy a corporate image which is at least as good as that of Canadianowned firms.
- Foreign-owned companies are generally seen as having a <u>favourable</u> impact on the community.
- On a "specific probe" basis, the general public seems to find more disadvantages to foreign ownership and more advantages to Canadian ownership, than vice versa.

Impact of Foreign Ownership on Personal Life

- Almost half of the general public does not consider foreign ownership to affect it personally, although there are more unfavourable statements about the impact of foreign ownership than favourable ones.
- Nationality of the individual's employer is not considered relevant by the majority of the general public.

Of those concerned about nationality of their employer, over a third would prefer to work for a
Canadian-owned company. The remainder have other,
more general reasons for favouring Canadian ownership.

Attitudes Toward Government Record and Future Involvement

- Just over one-half of the general public believes that the government has not taken sufficient action on the foreign ownership issue; one-fifth is satisfied with past action.
- Almost three-quarters favour more government action and 70 per cent of these think it should be focused on a number of specific industries, principally natural resources, mining, automobiles, oil and petroleum, and forest-based industries.
- The majority favour a government screening agency to determine whether foreign investments are beneficial.



IV - OVERVIEW OF SURVEY RESULTS

This section presents a summary interpretation of the results of the two separate surveys of community leaders and the general public in four small urban centres in Ontario.

SCOPE OF SURVEY DESIGN

The surveys were designed to be complementary to the main study of behavioural differences between foreign- and Canadian-controlled firms. They attempted to document the opinions of the general public and community leaders in representative Ontario communities with regard to the general issue of foreign ownership and the differences, if any - to the country, to the community, and to individuals personally - that are perceived in the behaviour of foreign- and Canadian-controlled companies.

Part of the overall background is a series of <u>Financial Post</u> articles⁴ which provides a journalistic account of various issues related generally to the alleged "cocacolonization" of Canada. The survey attempted to obtain a more specific reading of some of the issues raised in these articles, as well as issues raised in discussions with the Select Committee and during our research in specific industries. Such issues included community involvement on the part of foreign-owned companies and sentiments about working for foreign-owned firms. It should

^{4.} Compiled in a book by Robert L. Perry, Galt, U.S.A. (Toronto: MacLean-Hunter Ltd., 1971).

be noted that the scope of the survey was considerably narrower than what can be covered in journalistic accounts. To some extent, particularly in the community leaders survey, it was possible to identify what foreign ownership actually means to people and how it relates to anti-Americanism and pro-Canadiansim; it was not possible, however, to analyze in depth all the complex psychological associations that people seem to have with the concept of foreign ownership.

With regard to the more specific question of the behaviour of foreign-owned firms, the survey results are relatively more clear, and conclusions can be drawn from them.

COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVENESS

Four communities were selected on the basis of criteria outlined in Section I. From the survey, it is apparent that each of the communities is quite different and each has its own community "soul". Based on the sample, one community in Southern Ontario could be said to be quite favourably disposed toward the United States; one has a more impersonal, suburban orientation; one is particularly conscious of its own future as a distinct community; and one is a resource-dependent community in Northern Ontario with relatively more uncertain economic conditions.

Thus, these communities are fairly distinct in themselves, and in one sense cannot be said to be representative of Ontario communities: for there is probably no such thing as an "average" Ontario community. In

another sense, the towns are typical, or at least similar, since there is a degree of similarity in attitudes toward many basic questions. Therefore, while there would probably be degrees of differences between these communities and others - in some cases significant ones - the results from the surveys of the four towns may be considered to be a fair representation of small- to medium-sized urban centres in Ontario.

There is one possible exception to the broad representativeness of the four towns selected. The four in the sample do not appear to have included communities that have had obvious problems with foreignowned companies. Perhaps, there exist very few or no cases where residents feel that foreign-owned companies have behaved very badly, (for example, shutting down operations in the community as a result of corporate headquarters' decisions). Clear-cut cases of such undesirable corporate behaviour were not found in the communities selected.

ATTITUDES TOWARD FOREIGN OWNER-SHIP AND FOREIGN-OWNED COMPANIES

The survey included questions about <u>awareness</u> of and <u>concern</u> about the impact of foreign ownership on a general basis and on the community, and the impact of foreign-owned companies on the community relative to that of Canadian-owned firms.

From both the community leaders survey and the general public survey, it is apparent that foreign ownership problems are considered to be relatively less important than issues with a more immediate impact, such as unemployment and inflation.

When probed about whether they worried about foreign ownership many community leaders showed significant concern about the overall impact of foreign ownership. They seemed to hold the basic premise that Canadian identity and autonomy should be preserved and that government action should be taken if foreign ownership should threaten these values. When probed, the general public seemed to be against further foreign ownership locally and nationally, and for government action, should foreign ownership prove threatening.

With respect to the behaviour of foreign-owned companies in small communities, the survey shows that foreign-owned companies are perceived by both community leaders and the public at large to be good corporate citizens. The general public survey revealed that the corporate image of foreign-owned companies was equal or superior to that of comparable Canadian-owned companies. Significant numbers of the general public respondents were quite prepared to work for foreign-controlled firms, even though they had more general concerns about the overall effects of a high level of foreign ownership in Canada's economy. Although respondents generally felt that there were more advantages to Canadian ownership than to foreign ownership in the local community, the specific effects of foreign-owned companies were generally felt to be positive.

Suggested Interpretation of Survey Results

As described above, there appeared to be general concern about foreign ownership expressed by both the general public and community

leaders. From the open-ended interviews of community leaders, it was apparent that foreign ownership was associated with general sentiments such as nationalism and possibly anti-Americanism. It would therefore be difficult to isolate the question of foreign ownership from these broad issues in an interpretation of the community leaders responses.

The structured nature of the general public interviews provided a more quantifiable indication of attitudes toward foreign ownership and indicated (with somewhat more emphasis by younger respondents) that there is a definite preference for Canadian ownership. On the basis of discussions with the community leaders, we would interpret the general public's attitudes toward foreign ownership as representing broad Canadian nationalism and possibly anti-American sentiment.

One area of specific concern that exemplified the nationalism sentiment was the opinion that foreign ownership could reduce our ability to manage our natural resources in the best interests of Canadians. This was a recurrent theme in the community leaders survey, and the resource industries are those most readily identified as worth "buying back" by the general public. The typical respondent seemed to be saying that Canada is not getting enough for its natural resources and that the country should preserve them for its own use through more direct control.

A possible interpretation of the survey results is that foreign ownership is a "motherhood" issue. Respondents, as good Canadians, might be somewhat reluctant to support foreign ownership. The community leader interviews tend to illustrate, through individual expressions of sentiment, that pro-Canadian attitudes are genuine.

Another broad interpretation could be that Canadians are used to the amount and manifestations of foreign ownership that presently exist in Canada. Community residents seem to accept it as a fact of life, and they explain its necessity by their feeling that Canadians are not risk-takers and have not been providing sufficient entrepreneurial leadership in the economy. What they may be saying, however, is that the future impact of foreign ownership may not be as acceptable as it has been up to the present, particularly if the level and/or impact of foreign ownership continues to increase.

In summary, both community leaders and the general public in the surveyed communities may be described as feeling that, while individual foreign-controlled firms are usually beneficial to the community, the cumulative impact of foreign ownership is now a matter of concern to them, and government action is warranted to ensure that Canadians remain in control of Canada's resources, its economy, and its national identity.

There is no indication that foreign ownership has reached a crisis condition in the public's mind, but mixed with a willingness to live with foreign-owned companies is a gut feeling of nationalism. The expectation seems to be that government should take some action to limit the possibly undesirable cumulative impact of foreign ownership.

APPENDIX A

SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE ADMINISTERED TO GENERAL PUBLIC OF FOUR COMMUNITIES



CANADIAN FACTS CO. LIMITED TORONTO - MONTREAL

Hello, I'm Mrs. of Canadian Facts. We are conducting a survey of people's attitudes towards social and business conditions and I would like to ask you some questions.	
(HAND CARD ''A'') Would you mind telling me which letter on this card corresponds to your age or age group?	
A. UNDER 18 YEARS ☐ DISCONTINUE	
B. 18 - 20 YEARS 1	
C. 21 - 24 YEARS 2	
D. 25 - 29 YEARS 3	
E. 30 - 34 YEARS 4	
F. 35 - 39 YEARS 5	
G. 40 - 44 YEARS 6	
H. 45 - 49 YEARS 7	
1. 50 - 64 YEARS 8	
J. 65 YEARS AND OVER 9	
REFUSED ☐ ESTIMATE AGE	
First of all I'd like to talk to you about what's happening in Canada generally, as well as here in your community. Some things are presenting threats or problems to	
us, and others are offering benefits and opportunities for improving our way of life.	
I'm going to ask you about both the problems and the good things.	
1-a) First, just thinking about the problems, which ones do you yourself feel are of greatest concern? Any others?	L _A
1.	
2.	
3	
4.	
-b) Now, thinking about the benefits and opportunities for improving our lives, which ones do you think show the greatest promise? Are there any others?	
1.	
2.	
3	
4,	

2	1101-110-6	to talk	further	about	the	nroblems	VOIL	mentioned.	12-1		A
---	------------	---------	---------	-------	-----	----------	------	------------	------	--	---

Thinking about (NAME PROBLEM) In relation to your own community and how it effects your own local area I want you to tell me how serious you, yourself, feel each is. (HAND CARD "B") Do you feel (NAME PROBLEM) is very serious, fairly serious, not very serious or not at all serious? (REPEAT FOR EACH PROBLEM, ONE AT A TIME)

				NOT	
		VERY	FAIRLY	VERY	NOT AT
WRITE IN FIRST FOUR		SERIOUS	SERIOUS	SERIOUS	ALL SERIOUS
PROBLEMS NAMED:	17-				Walter School of the Park School
1,	18-	25-Y	Χ	0	1
	19-				
2.	20-	3	4	5	6
	21-				
3.	22-	26-Y	Х	0	1
	23-				
4_	24-	3	4	5	6
	Marian Maria	_			

 I am going to show you a cartoon. When you have read it, I would like to ask you a couple of short questions about it.

HAND CARTOON SHOWING HEADLINE

"BIG U.S. COMPANY PROMISES NEW PLANT FOR " (for half of respondants "U.S." was replaced by "Canadian")
CARTOON SHOWS WOMAN READING PAPER AND POINTING TO HEADLINE. SHE SAYS TO HER
HUSBAND -- "WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT THIS". 27-1

-a) What do you think the husband says in reply to his wife's question? Is there anything else?

-b) What reasons does the husband give? (PROBE FULLY FOR ALL REASONS)

2829-

4-a) Different people, of course, feel concerned about different things. The subjects on these cards are ones that some people have said are of concern to them. Please rate these items in order of importance as you feel they concern you personally. (HAND BOARD AND SHUFFLE CARDS). Number "1" is the least important; number "10" is the most important. You can put as many or as few as you wish in any pile.

-b) (HAND CARD "C")

Please consider these items again, and as I read each one, tell me how concerned you are about its effects on you and your local community. Now for (READ FIRST STATEMENT) are you very concerned about its effect on your local community, fairly concerned about its effect on your local community, not too concerned about its effect on your local community or not at all concerned about its effect on your local community?

	RATE	VERY CONCERNED	FAIRLY CONCERNED	NOT VERY CONCERNED	NOT AT ALL CONCERNED
Air and water pollution	30	- 40-Y	Х	0	1
Unemployment	31	- 3	4	5	6
Strikes which effect public services	32	!- 41-Y	x	0	1
Foreign ownership of industry in Canada	33	3- 3	4	5	6
Increase in food prices	34	- 42-Y	X.	0	1
Immigration	35	i- 3	4	5	6
Drug abuse	36	- 43-Y	х	0	1
Safety on the roads	37	'- 3	4	5	6
Abortion	38	3- 44-Y	Х	0	1
National unity	3	9- 3	4	5	6

5.	I want you to think now about each of these same items and the way the Ontario Government has dealt with them. As I lead each item, please tell me whether you feel Ontario Government legislation has done enough or has not done enough to improve the situation?
	ENOUGH NOT ENOUGH TO IMPROVE TO IMPROVE SITUATION DON'T KNOW
	Air and water pollucion 45- Y X 0
	Unemployment
	Strikes which effect public services
	Foreign ownership of industry in Canada 46- Y X
	Increase in food prices
	Insignation 6 78
	Drug abuse X
	Safaty on the rooms
	Abortion 6 78
	National unity 48-Y X
6-a)	I want to talk now about companies in the local area. Just thinking about the different companies that are in Which one company do you feel is most important to the local community? (ONE COMPANY ONLY)
	149-
-b)	What reasons do you have for selecting this company? Is there anything else? (PROBE FULLY FOR ALL REASONS)
	51-
	52
-c)	I would like you now to think about some of the other companies here in and select two others which you also feel are important to the local community?
	2
	3

IN QUESTIONS 6-d), -e) and f), RESPONDENT MUST RATE ONE COMPANY AT A TIME FOR ALL STATEMENTS BEFORE GOING TO THE NEXT COMPANY.

- (HAND CARD "D") This card shows a number of characteristics about companies. For each pair, I want you to select the one statement which you feel applies more for (NAME COMPANY IN Q, 6-a).
- -e) Now for (NAME COMPANY 2 MENTIONED IN Q_* 6-c)), please select the one statement from each pair which you feel applies more?
- -f) And for $\frac{\text{(NAME COMPANY 3 MENTIONED IN Q, 6-c))}}{\text{in each pair which you feel applies more?}}$, again select the statement

	The each part without you reer	-d)	-e)	
		(WRITE IN COMPANY NAMED FIRST)	(WRITE IN COMPANY NAMED SECOND)	(WRITE IN COMPANY NAMED THIRD)
;)	Considering the type of industry, they provide good working conditions	55- Y	57-Y	59-Y
	Considering the type of industry, they do not provide good working conditions	х	x	х
ii)	They pay their employees well	1	1	1
	They do not pay their employees well	2	2	2
;;;)	They contribute to charity and community funds	4	4	4
	They do not contribute to charity and community funds	5	5	5
i _V)	They support many community activities and functions	7	7	. 7
	They do not support many community activities and functions	8	8	8
٧)	They are very concerned about keeping the environment pollution free		58- Y	60- Ү
	They are not very concerned about keeping the environment pollution free	х	х	X

7. (HAND CARD "F") Here is a card showing the names of a number of companies - some we may have already talked about in the previous questions. We know you may not be sure about all of these companies but, for each company, I want you to tell me whether you think it is owned mainly by Canadians or owned mainly by people living in the U.S. or overseas?

actual names have been deleted)	CANAD I AN OWNED	FORE I GN OWNED	DON'T
	71-Y	Х	0
	2	3	4
	6	7	- 8
	72-Y	Χ	0
	2	3	4
	6	7	8
	73-Y	Х	0
	2	3	4
	6	7	8
	74-Y	Х .	0
	2	3	L _i
	6	7	8
	75-Y	Х	C
	2	3	L _i

With regard to you you see to foreign	ur own local commun n ownership? (PRO	nity, would y BE)	ou tell me what n	main <u>advant</u>
	ır own local commun			

11.	Now, still thinking about your own local community, please tell me what main advantages you see to Canadian ownership? (PROBE)
	19
12.	Now, still thinking about your own local community, please tell me what main disadvantages you see to Canadian ownership? (PROBE)
13-a)	Are you, yourself, employed? YES23-1
	NO 2 GO TO 14-a)
-b)	Does it matter to you, yourself, whether your company is foreign owned or Canadian owned?
	YES 24-1 NO 2 NO OPINION 3
-c)	Why do you feel this way? (PROBE)
	25- 26-
-d)	Do you, in fact, work for
	a Canadian owned company?27-1
	or a foreign owned company? 2
	DON'T KNOW 3
14-a)	Is your husband/wife employed?
	NOT MARRIED 28- 1 GO TO Q. 15
	YES2 NO
-b)	Does it matter to you, yourself, whether the company your husband/wife works for is foreign owned or Canadian owned?
	YES 29- 1 NO 2 NO OPINION 3
-c)	Why do you feel this way? (PROBE)
	30-
and the state of t	31-

Do you know whether yo		
	a Canadian owned company? 32-	1
	or a foreign owned company?	2
	DON'T KNOW	3
Overall would you say community is	that the effect of foreign owned companie (READ LIST)	es on this
,	favourable, 33-	- 1
		2
		3
Will you tell me why y	ou feel this way?	
Would you say that the important or not at all	effect(s) you mentioned are extremely im I important?	portant, f
		,
	EXTREMELY IMPORTANT 36-	1
	EXTREMELY IMPORTANT 36- FAIRLY IMPORTANT	
	FAIRLY IMPORTANT	
I'm going to read you would you please tell	FAIRLY IMPORTANT	2 3 As I read
would you please tell The long term effects be no different than t	FAIRLY IMPORTANT NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT a list of statements. (HAND CARD "G")	2 3 As I read th it? ing in Can
would you please tell The long term effects be no different than t operating in Canada.	FAIRLY IMPORTANT NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT a list of statements. (HAND CARD "G") me how strongly you agree or disagree wi of foreign ownership of companies operat	2 3 As I read th it? ing in Can ip of comp
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-c)	Canadians are not willing to invest in Canada.	their own companies operating in
	AGREE STRONGLY 41-1	DISAGREE MILDLY4
	Adite Softening Title Title	
	AGREE MILDLY 3	DISAGREE SIKONGLY
-d)	Canadian owned companies could grow b or overseas.	igger without investment from the U.S.
	AGREE STRONGLY42-1	DISAGREE MILDLY4
	AGREE SOMEWHAT 2	DISAGREE SOMEWHAT5
	AGREE MILDLY 3	DISAGREE STRONGLY6
-e)	U.S. and overseas owned companies can Canadian owned companies.	afford to take more financial risks than
	AGREE STRONGLY43-1	DISAGREE MILDLY4
	AGREE SOMEWHAT 2	DISAGREE SOMEWHAT5
	AGREE MILDLY	DISAGREE STRONGLY6
-f)	Canadian owned companies are less advicompanies.	entu rous than U.S. and overseas owned
	AGREE STRONGLY44-1	DISAGREE MILDLY4
	AGREE SOMEWHAT 2	DISAGREE SOMEWHAT5
	AGREE MILDLY	DISAGREE STRONGLY6
-g)	The state of the s	perating in Canada is not important to me.
٥.	AGREE STRONGLY45-1	DISAGREE MILDLY4
	AGREE SOMEWHAT 2	
	AGREE MILDLY 3	DISAGREE STRONGLY6
17-a)	Do you think the government should do companies?	more about foreign ownership of Canadian
	YES 46-1	NO 2 SKIP TO Q. 18
-ь)		e important for certain industries than
	YES 47- 1	NO 2
	Which industries do you feel are more	important? Any others?
		48 - 49 -
18.	Do you think there is enough U.S. cap	ital in Canada now, or would you like to
	see more U.S. capital invested in Car	ada?
		JGH NOW50-1
		TO SEE MORE 2
	UNDE	CIDED 3

13.	It has been suggested that the government should set up an org screen the introduction of more foreign capital into this coun the object of checking to see whether or not the investments w best interests of Canada. Some people think this is a good id disagree, and say it is not, What is your opinion?	try with
	GOOD IDEA51-	
	NOT A GOOD IDEA	
	UNDECIDED	3
	Now I'd like to ask you a few questions for classification pur only.	poses
BASIC I	DATA	
20.	What is your marital status?	
	SINGLE 52-	
	MARRIED	
	WIDOW(ER), DIVORCED, SEPARATED	3
21.	What is your position in the household?	
	MALE HEAD 53-	
	FEMALE HEAD	
		3
		4
		5
	OTHER FEMALE	6
22.	What is your occupation?	
	UNEMPLOYED	3
	NAME OF COMPANY:	54-
	TYPE OF JOB:	55-
	Homemaker only	
	Full-time? (STATE JOB)	56-
23.	What is the occupation of the head of the house? (IF RESPONDE	AIT NOT HEAD OF
2).	HOUSEHOLD)	NI NOI HEAD OF
	NAME OF COMPANY:	
	TYPE OF JOB:	57-
	UNEMPLOYED	
24.	What was the name of the last school you attended? How far di	d you go?
	SOME GRADUAT	ED
	Public/elementary school (Grades 1-8) 58-Y	
	Secondary/high school (Grades 9-13) 0	
	Technical/senior college (above grades 12 or 13) 2 3	
	University 4 5	
	No formal schooling 6	
	Refused 7	
	Any additional schooling	

5.	(HAND CARD THAT) In which of these letter groups does the approximate total in of the family fall?
	L, M OR N ⁵⁹ -1
	0 2 P 3
	Q 4

	R 5
	s 6
	Т 7
	U 8
	V 9
	REFUSED ESTIMATE
	who is not a member of your immediate family?
	TOTAL
	18 YEARS AND OVER
	160 -1
	2 2
	3 3
	4 4
	5 5
	6 6
	7 7
	8 8
	TO OK OVER
	REFUSED X
NAME:	:
MA I I. I	ING ADDRESS:
	PHONE NUMBER:
	NONE: □
DATE	
	EMPLOYEE NUMBER:

